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A GLIMPSE
AT THE
Monumental Architecture
AND SCULPTURE
OF
GREAT BRITAIN,

FROM THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE EIGHTEENTH
CENTURY.

BY
MATTHEW HOLBECHE BLOXAM.

OXFORD LIBRARY



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KE 1859



"Neque assentior his, qui hæc nuper disserere cœperunt, cum corporibus simul animos interire, atque omnia morte deleri. Plus apud me antiquorum auctoritas valet, vel nostrorum majorum; qui mortuis tam religiosa jura tribuerunt; quod non fecissent profecto, si nihil ad eos pertinere arbitrarentur."

CICERO.

LEICESTER:

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INTRODUCTION.

THE monumental remains of Britain form no inconsiderable portion of those works of ancient art which constitute our national antiquities. They comprise innumerable specimens of every age and variety, from the simple barrow to the most elaborate and enriched design, and are so closely connected with the history of our country, whether considered with reference to its condition civil, military, or religious, that, if other sources were wanting, we should be able from these records alone, to deduce a knowledge, by no means limited, of its literature, manners, and usages, at different periods, with the successive changes they have undergone, of the descent of our ancestry, and of the progress of refinement and the arts.

They have been well and beautifully illustrated ; but, as yet, in a comprehensive manner, have been but imperfectly treated of ; nor is there any work, if we except the ponderous folios of Gough, which conveys to the reader a general view of our monumental and sepulchral antiquities. The study of such remains must, therefore, be sought for in various costly and expensive tomes, each confined to, and bearing upon, a particular branch of the subject only, and of these the principal are here noticed, that they may be resorted to for further information ; the object of the present work being no other than to convey such a succinct yet comprehensive and sufficiently detailed outline, as may enable the reader generally to discriminate, and impart an interest to those who venerate the monuments of other days, whether they view them in "the pride of ancestry," or regard them as emblems of by-gone times.

Weever's "Ancient Funeral Monuments," the first work professedly on the subject, appeared in 1631, in a thick folio volume, illustrated with a few rude wood-cuts. The observations it contains are confined to monuments within the dioceses of Canterbury, Rochester, London, and Norwich, and principally consist of biographical and historical notices, descents, and epitaphs, with a discourse of funeral monuments prefixed, but no description of

the monuments themselves, or classification, is attempted.

In 1658, Sir Thomas Brown published his "*Hydriotaphia*," a beautifully written treatise on urn burial, a work which, though in the present day of no practical utility in the discrimination of ancient sepulchral remains, has received deserved attention from the quaint yet elegant style of composition, and the learning displayed therein.*

No further progress appears to have been made with respect to the illustration of sepulchral monuments till towards the close of the eighteenth century, when a taste for antiquarian pursuits seems to have gained rapid ground.

Some observations on monuments by Mr. Maurice Johnson, founder of the Spalding Literary Society, who made the first and, indeed, the only attempt at classification, by dividing them generally into eight forms or classes, were published by Gough, who, between the years 1786 and 1796, produced his "*Sepulchral Monuments in Great Britain, from the Norman Conquest to the Seventeenth Century*," in four large folio volumes, to which he afterwards added a fifth, or introductory volume. An immense mass of materials is here

* The fourth edition of this popular work was published in 1736.

collected together, but the arrangement is ill adapted for the general reader; no distinction is made or pointed out between the different modes of burial in use amongst the ancient Britons, Romans, and early Saxons; nor are the monuments of the middle ages treated of otherwise than in mere chronological order, arranged in centuries, and without regard to any other kind of classification. Medieval architecture, armour, and costume, were then, comparatively, little understood, and on these points his descriptions are sometimes defective; yet, in despite of errors, the work is highly valuable; it alone treats generally on the subject, and the information contained in it, which is very considerable, is evidently the result of deep and laborious research.

But what Gough left incomplete, has been partly accomplished by others; and, during the progress of his work, in the year 1793, Mr. Douglas published his "*Nenia Britannica, or a Sepulchral History of Great Britain, from the earliest period to its general conversion to Christianity.*" This is an exceeding erudite work, well embellished with numerous engravings, and is chiefly illustrative of the sepulchral remains of the Romanized or later Britons, and early Saxon invaders, from the fourth to the eighth century.

Sir Richard Colt Hoare's "*History of Ancient Wiltshire,*" in two vols. folio, published between

the years 1810 and 1819, is a most interesting work, the result of practical investigation and research, which, more than any other, has tended to elucidate the sepulchral tumuli of the Ancient Britons, and the diversity of their modes of burial.*

Stothard's "Monumental Effigies of Great Britain," in one volume, quarto, the completion of which was long delayed by the untimely death of the lamented artist, has since, though very recently, been finished. It contains about one hundred and fifty plates, most exquisitely etched, illustrative of the armour, costume, and sculpture of the middle ages; and the descriptions which accompany them are no less valuable than correct.

Blore's "Monumental Remains of Noble and Eminent Persons," in one octavo volume, though not completed according to the prospectus originally set forth, contains a series of the most beautiful and elaborate engravings of some of our finest monuments: but the notices are rather of a biographical than an antiquarian or architectural cast.

Cotman's Norfolk Brasses, Hyett's Sepulchral Memorials of Northamptonshire, and Harding's

* Besides this, Sir R. C. Hoare has published a smaller work, entitled, "Tumuli Wiltunenses; a Guide to the Barrows on the Plains of Stonehenge;" a most useful work for those who have it not in their power to procure his "Ancient Wiltshire."

Antiquities in Westminster Abbey, are also works on the subject, though confined to particular districts.

But there are also certain publications, which, though not directly treating on monumental memorials, are yet essentially connected with them, and these are works which relate to costume, military, ecclesiastical, and civil. The notices of ancient armour contained in the introduction to Gough's Sepulchral Monuments, in the works of Strutt, and Grose's Military Antiquities, though undoubtedly valuable, do not by any means convey a knowledge sufficiently comprehensive for discrimination. Sir Samuel Rush Meyrick has, however, in his "Critical Inquiry into Ancient Armour," published in three volumes, quarto, in 1824, fully investigated the subject; and to him we are indebted for the only work which can be referred to as a general text book or authority; besides this, several able dissertations in the *Archæologia*, and the notices to Skelton's Engraved Illustrations of Ancient Armour, the subjects all taken from specimens in the Meyrick Collection, are the productions of his pen.

In 1817 was published, in one thin octavo volume, "Carter's Specimens of English Ecclesiastical Costume, from the earliest period down to the sixteenth century, selected from Sculptures, Paintings, and Brasses within this Kingdom." The matter accompanying the plates to this work is sin-

gularly defective ; no explanation whatever is given of the different sacerdotal or episcopal vestments ; and yet this is the only English work which has appeared professedly on, and been confined to, this particular subject.

The sources which have been investigated in treating of such, are referred to in those parts of the present work where the ecclesiastical costume is noticed.

On civil costume, Strutt's "View of the Dress and Habits of the People of England," is the only work of general reference ;* and even this, in many points, is not sufficiently explicit, nor is the arrangement of the matter altogether such as could be desired ; but, like the rest of his works, it contains a mass of valuable information, collected together from cotemporary manuscripts, and other scarce books, at no small cost and labour.

There are many other publications which incidentally contribute to the illustration and elucidation of this branch of national archæology, and some of these are referred to in the text ; but those above noticed are such as bear most upon it.

* The History of British Costume, by Mr. Planché, forming one of the volumes of the Library of Entertaining Knowledge, has very recently been published, and is an interesting and valuable work, well arranged and illustrated.

To give a concise and connected view, and an attempt at some kind of classification, is what has been chiefly aimed at in the following pages ; not, indeed, such a knowledge of the subject as might be desired, but rather an introduction to the study.

M. H. B.

Rugby, Sept. 23, 1834.

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ERRATA.

P. 3, *for* Phenicians, *read* Phœnicians ; and *passim*.
52, *for* Abbot of Worcester, *read* Abbot of Evesham.
105, *for* Weaver, *read* Weever.



British Sepulchral Antiquities, (from Hoare's Ancient Wiltshire.)^a

CHAPTER I.

OF THE SEPULCHRAL REMAINS OF THE CELTIC AND BELGIC BRITONS.

At a very early period, probably soon after the general dispersion of mankind, and division of the earth amongst the Noachidæ, (an event which took place in the days of Peleg, about 2100 years before the Christian era) the descendants of Gomer, the grandson of Noah, passed the Thracian Bosphorus, and gradually spread themselves over the various countries of Europe, still proceeding onwards towards the west, until some of their families or tribes reached the coasts of Germany and Gaul, and from thence crossed the sea into Britain.

^a 1. Stone Axe, or Hammer. 2. Arrow Head of Flint. 3. Flint Celt.
4. Brass Dagger. 5. Sepulchral Urn. 6. Brass Celt. 7, 8. Drinking Cups.

These Nomadic wanderers, the Aborigines of Europe, went under the general denomination of Cimmerians, or Celts; and as their progress was uninterrupted, except by natural causes,—for they had no hostile armies to encounter, but merely waste and uncultivated countries to traverse, which some remained to colonize, whilst others, as the population increased, ventured forward,—we may reasonably infer, that within the space of four or five centuries from the first migrations of the Gomerites out of Asia into Europe, or about sixteen hundred years before Christ, the British Isles were inhabited.

The primeval occupants were divided into tribes, and wandered from place to place in search of pasture for their flocks, on which they chiefly depended for subsistence, for they were acquainted very little with agricultural pursuits.

Their arms were of the rudest description, and such as are usually met with amongst nations the most uncivilized.^b Spears, or javelins, pointed with bone or flint; wooden clubs, axes or hatchets, and hammers, of flint and stone; bows, and arrows formed of reeds, with heads of bone and flint; were the only weapons they possessed, either for hunting, aggression, or defence. It was not till many centuries after the first arrival of their Celtic progenitors, that the Britons became acquainted with the method of manufacturing warlike implements of metal.

This art was first imparted to them by the enterprising Phenicians, who, having traversed the Mediterranean Sea,

^b Tacitus remarks of the *Fenni*, the most uncivilized of all the German tribes, that they led a vagrant life, without having any fixed place of abode, the skins of beasts being their only clothing; and that they depended for their chief support upon their arrows, to which, for want of iron, they prefixed a pointed bone.—A nearly similar description might have been given of the primitive Britons.

and settled colonies at Carthage and Cadiz, discovered the south-western coast of Britain; and finding the country abounded with mines of tin and lead, easy to be worked, commenced and carried on for many centuries a very profitable commercial intercourse with the natives, giving in exchange to the inhabitants of the Cassiterides, or Scilly Isles, and Cornwall, pottery, brazen wares, and trinkets, for lead, tin, and hides.

Though the period cannot be precisely ascertained when the Phenicians first traded to Britain,^c it was undoubtedly very early; since it is described by Hecateus, an ancient Greek historian, who flourished five centuries before the Christian era, as an island situate in the Ocean, over against the Celtic coast, or Gaul, full as large as Sicily; famous for a magnificent sacred inclosure, dedicated to Apollo, (the sun) and a temple renowned for its riches, and of a circular form. This account, the earliest record perhaps existing respecting Britain, and that remarkable structure Stonehenge, the historian probably received in the first instance from some Phenician merchant or mariner, who had resorted hither to traffic.

From this intercourse the southern Britons became more civilized in their manners than the rest of their countrymen, and adopted many of the customs and reli-

^c Borlase conjectured the Phenicians to have discovered Britain about six centuries before Christ. *Ant. Cornwall*, p. 28.—I conceive, however, that the discovery was made much earlier; and that the rude stone circles in Cornwall, and elsewhere, which bear a close analogy with those described by Moses, *Exod.* xxiv. 4. *Deut.* xii. 3. were the most ancient Druidical temples, and of Phenician origin; and that Stonehenge was erected under the superintendence of some skilful Phenicians at a later, though still very early, period, when they had acquired a knowledge of the powers of mechanism, and hewing of immense stones, for which, in the days of Solomon, they were renowned.

gious rites of the Phenicians, which latter they seem to have engrafted upon, and intermixed with, their own primitive theological doctrines.

The Celtic Aborigines appear to have retained quiet possession of the whole of this island, until about 350 years A. C.^d when an eruption of the Belgæ^e took place from different parts of the neighbouring coast of Gaul, who being a more warlike race, and better versed in arms than the Celts, drove those descendants of the early settlers from the southern parts of Britain, of which they then took possession, and inhabited; and thus, at the time of Cæsar's invasion, about 55 years A. C. Britain was peopled by two distinct nations—the Celtic tribes, or Aborigines, who inhabited the northern and western parts, and the Belgic tribes, who had established themselves in the south.

Previous to Cæsar's descent, a considerable intercourse had arisen between the Gaulish merchants and those of Britain; and much lead and tin was exported from Cornwall to the coast of Gaul, and thence transported over land to the Greek colony at Marseilles.

Cæsar, in his Commentaries, remarks of the Britons, that they had very little iron, and that was chiefly amongst those who lived near the coast; and also, that all their brass was imported. He likewise notices the Belgic tribes, who dwelt near the sea, as being more civilized than those

^d Richard of Cirencester.

^e The Belgic Gauls have been considered as the descendants of the Scythians, who about 600 years A. C. entered Europe, drove the Cimmerian or Celtic race before them, and gradually extended their conquests over Germany and a part of Gaul, from whence they invaded Britain.—Herodotus. Davis' Celtic Researches. Turner's History of the Anglo-Saxons.

who inhabited the interior of the country, and nearly similar in their manners to the inhabitants of Belgic Gaul.

After the departure of Cæsar with his forces, this island was left undisturbed by foreign aggression for near a century, when, in the reign of Claudius, it was again visited by the Roman legions; and after many ineffectual struggles for freedom, the superiority of the Roman arms over those of the brave but half-naked and undisciplined natives was such, that before the end of the first century nearly the whole of Britain, Caledonia excepted, was forced into subjection; yet not without some advantage even to the conquered, who were early taught and encouraged to adopt the manners, arts, and customs, of their successful and civilized opponents.

Though near eighteen centuries have elapsed since the Roman sway was first predominant, there are still existing in Britain numerous memorials of a period far more remote. These consist chiefly of stone circles or druidical temples, cromlechs or altars, irregular castrametations, and sepulchral tumuli or barrows.

The latter, when considered as the basis of historical research into the manners and customs of the early inhabitants of this island, are most important and interesting, inasmuch as from an examination of their contents, some idea may be formed of the knowledge and progress of art, and comparative state of society, amongst a people scarcely known to the ancient historians, even by name, before the time of Cæsar, and of whom little has consequently been recorded.

These tumuli, or barrows, lie scattered over all parts of the kingdom, though more particularly in the most barren and exposed districts; in the hilly, chalky, and uncultivated downs of Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorsetshire, Wiltshire,

and Berkshire, they abound, as they do also in some parts of Scotland and Wales, and are often found together in groups; but in other parts of the country they are comparatively scarce. Some have been demolished at different periods, for the sake of cultivation, and the few still left are commonly isolated, and placed on elevated situations.

From an investigation of these sepulchral tumuli, it is evident that the Britons, like many other nations, were accustomed to use two distinct modes of interment, the one by simple inhumation, or deposition of the body in an entire state; the other by cremation, where the body was burnt.

The most ancient mode of interment appears to have been that of simple inhumation,^f where the body was deposited entire, often in a contracted position, with the legs drawn up,^g in a cistvaen, or chest, formed of four or five rough slabs of stone, placed on their edges at right angles, and covered at the top with another of a larger size; and in places where the soil was chalky, and no stones of dimensions sufficient to form a chest could be obtained, the body was placed in a cist, or excavation, cut in the chalk, or natural soil, over this was piled a barrow, or artificial mound of earth and stones; and with the primary interment, in those barrows considered as the most ancient, neither warlike weapons, ornaments, or articles of any description, or vestiges of cremation, are found.

The next mode of burial, by simple inhumation, seems to have been that, where the body was laid prostrate at

^f *Ac mihi quidem antiquissimum sepulturæ genus id fuisse videtur, quo apud Xenophontem Cyrus utitur. Redditur enim terræ corpus, et ita locatum ac situm quasi operimento matris obducitur.*—Cicero de Leg. Lib. II.

^g Montfaucon, in describing from Diodorus Siculus and Strabo the funeral customs of the Troglodytes, says, “*Il mortui cadaver, aiant, paliuri viminibus ita constringunt, ut collem cruribus annectatur.*”—Tome v. p. 185.

full length on the ground, or within a cist cut in the chalk or soil, and various articles of flint and stone, such as arrow heads and celts, hammers and battle axes, deposited with it: and, at a later period, weapons, and ornaments of bronze, bone instruments, whet-stones, earthen cups, and beads of amber, jet, glass, stone, and vitrified earth, and, in some few instances, ornaments of gold: the body being thus accompanied, the earth was heaped over it in a regular shape.

The custom of interring articles with the dead may very possibly have been derived from the Phenicians; for the earliest account extant, where weapons are mentioned to have been deposited in a sepulchre, tends to prove that it prevailed, partially at least, if not generally, amongst the Canaanites, so far back as the time of Joshua, or about 1400 years before the Christian era; since it is recorded, that on his death, the knives, or weapons of flint, with which he had circumcised the Israelites at Gilgal, were buried with his body in the tomb. The passage from the book of Joshua is not to be found in our English translation, but occurs in a very ancient copy of the Septuagint, preserved in the Vatican: *Καὶ ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν πρὸς τοῖς ὀρίοις τῆ κλήρης αὐτῆς ἐν Θαμνασαράχ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ ΕΦραῖμ ἀπὸ Βορβᾶ τῆ ὄρης τῆ Γαλαάδ· ἐκᾶ ἔθηκαν μετ' αὐτῆς εἰς τὸ μνῆμα εἰς δ' ἔθαψαν αὐτὸν ἐκᾶ τὰς μαχαίρας τὰς πετρίνας, ἐν αἷς περιέτεμε τὴς υἱὲς Ἰσραὴλ ἐν Γαλγάλοις ὅτε ἐξήγαγεν αὐτὰς ἐξ Αἰγύπτου, καθὰ συνέταξεν αὐτοῖς Κύριος· καὶ ἐκᾶ εἰσιν ἕως τῆς σήμερον ἡμέρας.* In allusion also to this custom (as practised eight centuries afterwards) are the words of Ezekiel: "They shall not lie with the mighty that are fallen of the uncircumcised, which are gone down to hell (the grave) with their weapons of war: and they have laid their swords under their heads."

The practice of cremation does not appear to have prevailed amongst the earliest settlers of Britain, or their immediate descendants, but was clearly a later introduction; and it seems to have originated amongst some of the eastern nations at a very remote, though uncertain, period; for we are informed that about 1050 years A. C. the men of Jabesh Gilead, apparently for a similar reason to that assigned by Pliny, burnt the bodies of Saul and his sons, after they had taken them down from the walls of Bethshan, where the Philistines had exposed them, and buried the bones under a tree.^h In the Homeric poems this custom is mentioned as having been practised at the siege of Troy; and the most probable presumption is, that the Phenicians brought it into this country.

The most ancient interments of this kind, if we may judge of such by the absence of the funeral urn, are those where the burnt bones and ashes of the deceased have been simply deposited within a cist, or excavation, in the chalk, and then covered with stones, and earth heaped over, so as to form a barrow.

The funeral urn bespeaks an era somewhat more refined; in this, the bones and ashes being collected together, were deposited, and it was then placed in a cist, cut in the chalk, or in a cistvaen, formed of rough slabs, or simply on the floor, or sometimes, as in secondary interments, near the apex of a barrow.

Ancient British urns are most frequently found in an inverted position, with the mouth turned downwards over the remains; they have, however, been sometimes discovered with the mouth uppermost, covered with a flat stone, to protect it.

^h 1 Sam. xxxi.

In many respects they differ from those of the Roman era, from which they are in general easy to be distinguished. They are coarsely formed, without the aid of a lathe, and in shape bear some resemblance to a common flower-pot, or truncated cone : the ornaments on them are rude, consisting chiefly of zigzag and short diagonal lines ; and many appear to have been hardened merely by exposure to the sun, or blackened by the funereal fire.

With the method of burial by cremation, we are well assured the Druids were acquainted ; for Pomponius Mela, in treating of their doctrines, declares, that they maintained the souls of men to be immortal, and that there was another life after this, wherein they existed amongst spirits ; and that they did for this reason burn and inter with the dead such things as suited them when alive.¹

Most, if not all, of the sepulchral tumuli of the ancient Britons, will be found comprehended under one or other of the following heads, or classification :

The Long Barrow.

The Bowl-shaped Barrow.

The Bell-shaped Barrow.

The Druid Barrow.

The Cairn, Carnedd, or Stone Barrow.

In each of the above classes, however, there are differences both in shape, size, and construction.

The most ancient barrows, or those which from their contents are reasonably presumed to be such, are distinguished from others by their semi-oval, wedge-like, or lengthened shapes, whence they bear the denomination of *Long Barrows* : they are seldom, or never, found together in

¹ Lib. iii. c. 2. "Æternas esse animas, vitamque alteram ad manes itaque cum mortuis cremant ac defodiunt apta viventibus olim."

groups, but singly, and on elevated ground. The original or primary interment in these, which are sometimes found to contain the remains of a single body only, and sometimes of several, was by simple inhumation, unaccompanied by arms, ornaments, or articles of any description, and has been generally discovered at the broadest or east end of the barrow, either lying on the floor, which was often paved with flints, or within a cistvaen, or stone chest. A range of cells, or cistvaens, communicating by a passage with each other, have been formed beneath a few of these ancient tumuli, but they seldom contain more than one such receptacle, and not always that; in some instances a long heap or ridge of stones or flints has been found to extend throughout the length of the barrow, beneath an outer coating, to the thickness of several feet of marl and earth.

Interments subsequent to the primary one, both by inhumation and cremation, have often been deposited in different parts of the same barrow, but nearer to the surface.

After Sir Richard Colt Hoare and Mr. Cunningham had investigated several of these long barrows in South Wiltshire, they ceased to open more of the same kind, on account of their general unproductiveness. "Other barrows," says Sir R. C. Hoare, "display such a variety in their external design and internal deposits, as to confound all systems, provided we were inclined to form one; but the long barrows are so uniform in their construction, and uninteresting in their contents, that we have at length given up all researches in them, having for many years in vain looked for that information which might tend to throw some satisfactory light on the history of these singular mounds of earth."†

† *Anc. Wilts.* vol. i, p. 93.

The Bowl-shaped Barrows are the most common of any, and are sometimes, though not always, encircled by a foss.

The Bell-shaped Barrows are so called from being fashioned with great care and accuracy in that form; they are commonly surrounded by a foss, but in their internal contents exhibit nothing calculated to distinguish them from the bowl-shaped barrow.

The Druid Barrows, or such as go under that name, received their appellation from Dr. Stukeley, who supposed that they were devoted to that class. Sir R. C. Hoare does not, however, coincide with him in opinion; but having investigated several, rather imagined from their contents that they were appropriated to females: they are distinguished by being placed in the midst of a circular area, formed by a vallum and ditch on the inside, like the ancient religious circles of the Britons; and sometimes two or more barrows are contained in the same area. The bowl, bell-shaped, and Druid barrows, are often found together in groups, on downs and barren moors, and near the Druidical temples or stone circles of the Britons.

In many parts of Scotland and Wales, and in Cornwall, Northumberland, and some other counties, are some very ancient barrows, called cairns, or carnedds, from their being entirely constructed of stones piled together without mortar, with sometimes a thin coating of turf, over a cistvaen containing the interment. In the Scilly Isles are some barrows edged with an outward circle of large stones; in the middle is a cavity or cistvaen, walled on each side, and covered with large flat stones, and over all is heaped a tumulus of small stones and earth.

Cistvaens are the rudest and most ancient description of stone coffins, though composed of several slabs, the

size was rarely proportioned to the length of the body inclosed, being much shorter, and, consequently, did not admit of its being deposited at full length; the body was, therefore, when interred in one of these, placed according to the prevailing custom of a very early age, with the knees upraised towards the breast, in a sitting or contracted position.

The internal contents of ancient sepulchral tumuli have been found to be very various. With interments, both by simple inhumation and cremation, drinking cups of clay, spear or lance heads, and daggers of flint and brass, arrow heads of flint, celts^k of flint, stone, or brass, bodkins or skewers of bone, whetstones, and beads of amber, jet, and glass, variously coloured, and of different shapes and sizes, have frequently been discovered, and in some instances armillæ or bracelets of brass and ivory, rings, and pennis ornaments of jet, and sometimes, though very rarely, ar-

^k Much has been written in the endeavour to ascertain, by probable conjecture, the purposes for which those peculiar articles of flint, stone, and bronze, which are comprehended under one general name, that of *Celts*, were fabricated. Amongst those whose attention has been engaged by this subject are, Drs. Stukeley and Borlase, Mr. Lort, Mr. Douglass, Sir W. Scott, Sir J. Banks, and Sir R. C. Hoare. The latter, after enumerating the opinions of many preceding writers with which he was unable to coincide, states his own, that they were instruments used for domestic, not for military, architectural, or religious purposes. *Anc. Wilts.* vol. i. p. 203.—Sir S. R. Meyrick calls them battle-axes, and has, in the engraved illustrations, of his ancient armour, pointed out the mode in which he conceives them to have been fastened to the staff or handle of wood. The most simple of these celts are of flint or stone, and gradually taper at one end to a sharp-edged point; others, like the stone hammers, are perforated for the insertion of a handle: the metallic celts have generally on the one side a socket hollowed out for the reception of a handle, and are likewise often provided with a loop or ring, seemingly for the purpose of suspending them from the side. It is very possible they may have served both for weapons of war, as well as articles of domestic utility.

ticles of gold ; with interments by cremation also, pins of brass and bone which fastened the cloth within which the ashes were enveloped, and remnants sufficiently apparent even of the cloth itself, have been found.

In general, not more than a few of the articles above enumerated were deposited together ; with some interments merely a drinking cup, with others a lance head, dagger, celt, or other weapon of flint, stone, or brass ; with others, beads only ; and with others, where cremation has been practised, nothing more than a pin of brass or bone. Some barrows are, however, much richer in their contents, and contain a variety of these articles.

Interments by cremation in barrows, in which the ashes have been simply deposited in a circular cist or on the floor, without either urn, arms, or ornaments, are common ; weapons, pins, beads, cups, and other articles have, however, not unfrequently been found with a simple deposit of burnt bones.

In some barrows pieces of stags' horns have been deposited, whence it has been conceived that the person there interred was a hunter.

Articles of iron are seldom, if ever, found in those tumuli which are conjectured to be of a date anterior to the Roman invasion ; when such are discovered, the presumption is, that they belonged to the Romanized Britons or early Saxons.

Interments by cremation were sometimes, though rarely, deposited in wooden cases ; and skeletons have been found inclosed in rude wooden chests, and within the hollowed trunks of trees.

Cups, with holes in them, are supposed to have been suspended over the funeral pile filled with perfumes ; both these and the drinking cups, which are common, are rudely

ornamented; they are found either at the head or feet of a skeleton, or with a simple deposit of burnt bones.

Many barrows contain vestiges of burials both by simple inhumation and cremation; the primary interment was deposited at the bottom of the barrow, and at a later period the old barrow was again opened for a fresh interment, and in some barrows three or four distinct interments, evidently of different periods and in different modes, have been discovered.

The researches of Sir R. C. Hoare and Mr. Cunnington amongst the sepulchral tumuli of Wiltshire, have tended to throw much light on a subject which was previously very imperfectly illustrated, and involved in great obscurity.

In a *Long Barrow* opened by Mr. Cunnington, he found "a rude urn, containing burnt human bones, at the west end; the next section was made in the highest part of the east end, but finding nothing, he commenced another section nearer the eastern extremity, where, after clearing away the earth for the depth of two feet, he came to a large stone, which required the strength of three men to lift out. This proved to be the top of a pyramid of loose flints, marl, stones, &c. which became wider nearer the bottom, where the base of the ridge measured more than twenty feet in length, and about ten feet in width. Beneath this ridge were found eight skeletons, lying promiscuously in various directions; seven of them were adults, the eighth a child; they had been deposited on the floor of the barrow, between two excavations in the native soil of an oval form, and seven feet apart. These oval cists, or pits, were cut in the chalk, about four feet in length and two and a half deep, and the skeletons were covered with a pyramid of flints and stones."¹

¹ *Anc. Wilts.* vol. i. p. 102.

In a barrow of a circular form, seventy feet in base diameter and six in elevation, opened also by Mr. Cunningham, "he found at the depth of two and a half feet, three skeletons lying in different directions: pursuing his researches, he dug to the depth of twelve feet from the top of the barrow, six of which were in the native soil, and then discovered the primary interment, consisting of a skeleton lying with its head to the north, and the legs and thighs drawn up as close as possible to the body. On the right side of the head lay a small black stone hatchet, which, added to the extraordinary depth at which the body was deposited, proved this to have been a very ancient sepulchre."^m

Another—"A beautiful *bell-shaped tumulus*, contained within a circular cist, cut in the native chalk, an interment of burnt bones in a very large sepulchral urn, accompanied by several beads of amber, jet, horn, and brass, and a brass pin. Within it also was a beautiful little incense cup, richly ornamented."ⁿ

In a bell-shaped barrow, opened by Sir R. C. Hoare, he found, at the depth of about eighteen inches under the surface, two skeletons, lying north-east and south-west, and apparently placed one above the other. At the head of the uppermost was a drinking cup of soft pottery, rudely ornamented, and the fragments of another cup of still ruder texture and workmanship. On the eastern side of the tumulus, and near the feet of the skeleton, was a large heap of burned bones piled up together, without any cist. Under the skeletons was a considerable quantity of flints, which led him to suppose that he had not discovered the primary interment; he therefore continued his re-

^m *Anc. Wilts.* vol. i, p. 174. ⁿ *Ibid.* p. 243.

searches, and amongst the flints perceived large pieces of stags' horns, and half a stone celt; and at the depth of eleven feet, after the very laborious removal of an immense collection of flints, discovered a skeleton of large proportions, lying north-east by south-west, on its left side, with its legs gathered up, according to the most ancient and primitive usage. Near its side was deposited a most beautiful brazen dagger, that had been gilt, and protected by a wooden scabbard, some part of which was still seen adhering to it, also a large and a small ornament of jet, perforated with two holes for suspension. Near the thigh-bone of the skeleton was another ornament of jet, resembling a pulley, four very perfect arrow-heads of flint, as well as some pieces of flint chipped and prepared for similar weapons, and a small brass pin. A fine urn, probably the drinking cup, lay broken at the foot of this British Hero."^o

In one barrow, at the depth of four feet and a half, the skeleton of an infant was discovered, with its head laid towards the south, and immediately beneath it a deposit of burned bones and a drinking cup. At the depth of eight feet, and in the native chalk, was the primary interment, viz. the skeleton of a man, lying from north to south, with his legs gathered up, according to the primitive custom. On his right side, and about a foot or more above the bones, was an enormous stag's horn."^p

In this last we have the primary interment by inhumation, with the legs gathered up; the secondary interment by cremation, and a third by inhumation at full length.

Tumuli over cistvaens, some containing bodies buried entire, and others interments by cremation, are common

^o *Anc. Wilts.* vol. i. p. 238.

^p *Ibid.* p. 116.

in Wales and Scotland, and have also been found in various parts of England.

In Llangaed parish, Wales, a cistvaen was discovered, which measured two feet nine inches by one foot nine, and three feet deep, composed of four rude slabs of grey marble or lime stone, and covered by a fifth, three feet nine inches by three feet five inches. It lay north and south, the scull at the north end; and it was to the discoverers a matter of wonder how the body, being so disproportioned to the coffin, could be laid straight in it.^q

In one of the tumuli, opened close by Stromness, the entire body of a man was found inclosed in a stone coffin, about four feet and a half long. The body had been placed in a sitting posture, and when the chest was found, was fallen down between the thigh bones; the other bones supported each other, so as to shew the original position. In another coffin, discovered in the same hillock, the body had been laid on its side; the knees to the breast, and the hands to the cheeks.^r

Both in the isles of Sanda and Stronza are numerous tumuli, which contain, within cistvaens or stone coffins, the bodies of men deposited entire.^s

In many cistvaens the sepulchral urn only, which contained the ashes of the deceased, was deposited.

In the parish of Llanarmon, near Vale Crucis, North Wales, are several sepulchral tumuli. Mr. Pennant was at the opening of one, composed of loose stones and earth, covered with a layer of soil, about two feet thick, and over that a coat of verdant turf; towards the middle of the tumulus several urns were discovered of sun-burnt clay, of a reddish colour on the outside, black within, being stained with the ashes they con-

^q Gough's Sepul. Mon. Introd. p. xi.

^r Ibid.

^s Ibid. xlii.

tained. They were placed with the mouth downwards, upon a flat stone; and upon each was another, to prevent them being broken by the weight above: numerous fragments of bones, which had escaped the action of the fire of the funeral pile, were deposited about the urns.

In the Deverell Barrow, opened by Mr. Miles in 1825, seventeen urns were found in cists, under large stones, and four more in the natural soil, enclosed in a kind of arch, composed of flints; besides these were five cists cut in the chalk, which contained burnt human bones, without any urn; and on the floor of the barrow four more interments were discovered, where the bones were collected in a heap with charcoal, without even a stone to protect them. In this extraordinary barrow, which was fifty-four feet in diameter at the base, and about twelve feet in height, were no less than thirty interments by cremation.^t

The conjecture is not improbable that the Celtic or aboriginal inhabitants of Britain, before their intercourse with any other people, practised only the mode of interment by simple inhumation.

Cremation, the refinement of the funeral urn, and the custom of depositing ornaments and weapons with the remains, were introduced, probably, at various periods by the Phœnicians and Belgic Gauls; the funerals of the latter, Cæsar describes as being most sumptuous; and asserts, that they threw into the fire every thing which they considered to have been much esteemed by the deceased.^u

It must not, however, be imagined that the whole population of ancient Britain was buried beneath barrows; comparatively a very small proportion of it was so; for as the largest barrows often contain a single interment only,

^t Gent.'s Mag. Dec. 1826.

^u Cæs. de Bello Gall. Lib. vi. c. xvii.

and there are few where the remains of more than three or four bodies have been deposited, it is evident that they were erected only over the remains of the Druids, the warriors, and chieftains of the people, and their families.

The same rites of burial which the Britons observed, very generally prevailed likewise amongst the ancient German and other Teutonic nations; for in those sepulchres amongst them which are esteemed as of the greatest antiquity, stone axes, hammers and celts, and brazen weapons, have been found, both with bodies buried entire, and with urns which, on account of their age and rudeness, were extremely friable; whereas, in those sepulchres where urns of better construction and more recent date were deposited, instruments of iron, which denote a more advanced era, have been discovered much oftener than those of brass.

Of the German sepulchres, there are some which are sunk beneath the surface of the earth, and contain both bones and urns, but have no barrows raised over them; and these have been considered as the last resting places of the poorer classes of the people. Others, over which tumuli of earth and stones are heaped, contain likewise interments both by simple inhumation and cremation; and these are thought to have inclosed the remains of their princes, illustrious men, and heroes, and often of whole families of distinction.

The formation of these barrows vary, for some are composed entirely of earth, whilst others are artfully constructed with stones; and in the latter, urns are seldom or never found, but merely the body buried entire; though in the former kind they are met with frequently. v

With reference to the urns found in these ancient sepulchres, Olaus Wormius mentions some as being of a glo-

v Montfaucon, *Ant. Expliqué*. Tome v. c. x.

bular form; whilst he describes others as dissimilar in fashion to the former, and of a cylindrical shape,^w which latter, it is clear from a comparison with those found in the British tumuli, were of the more ancient description.

The solicitude with which the Britons regarded the rites of sepulture is evinced by the labour and care they bestowed in the raising of their burial mounds. Imbued with the doctrine of an after state of existence, in which, as they conceived, the pursuits and gratifications of this life were again to be followed and enjoyed, they sedulously observed the custom, first practised by the eastern nations, of placing the articles chiefly prized by them—vessels, arms, and ornaments—by the side of the body in the grave, inasmuch as they vainly imagined that they would be hereafter needed by the disembodied spirit of the dead.

^w Ol. Worm. Mon. Dan. p. 42.



Sepulchral Urn—Roman era. Discovered at Brinklow, Warwickshire.



Roman Sepulchral Antiquities. w

CHAPTER II.

OF THE SEPULCHRAL REMAINS OF THE ROMANS IN BRITAIN.

A DEEP respect for the memory of the dead, and a belief that the ghosts of the unburied wandered for a century in gloomy solitude along the banks of the Styx, before they were suffered to cross over to the Elysian fields, occasioned among the Romans a very strict observance of their funeral rites; and in conformity with these, the body after death was, with many ceremonies, solemnly carried in procession to the place where it was to be burnt or interred.

Although prohibited by the laws of the twelve tables * from burying or burning their dead within their cities and towns, they were allowed to deposit their remains close by;

w 1. Lacrymatory. 2. Patera. 3. Sepulchral urn. 4. Praefericulum.

* *Hominem mortuum in urbe ne sepelito, neve urito.*—Cic. Leg. 2.

and at many of the ancient towns in Italy the burial places still appear on the sides of the roads leading from them, commencing near the gates, which custom prevailed amongst them also in Britain, since their sepulchral vestiges are most commonly found adjoining or very near to their stations, and in or by the sides of their public highways.

Amongst the Romans the custom of burning the body was not of primitive institution; but their dead were anciently buried entire; ^γ and though they early adopted the practice of cremation, which they derived probably from Greece, such was not their usual mode of burial till towards the end of the Republic. Under the early emperors, however, and during the period that Britain was a province of Rome, it had become almost universal; but as Christianity prevailed, this custom declined; and about the end of the fourth century, though not altogether abolished, it had fallen into very general disuse. ^z

Anciently, amongst other ceremonies when the funeral pile was on fire, garments, and precious stuffs, and aromatics, were thrown into the flames; and when the body was reduced to ashes, wine and milk were cast on the fire to extinguish it; but the laws of the twelve tables, which prohibited in funerals many superfluous and unnecessary expenses, forbade wine to be used any longer for that purpose, and the pile was afterwards quenched with water. By the same laws the custom of burning costly articles and garments with the dead was likewise much restricted.

From the sepulchral vestiges of the Romans in this country it appears that after the body was consumed, the

^γ *Ipsam cremare apud Romanos non fuit veteris instituti, terra condebantur. At postquam longinquis bellis obrutos erui cognovere tunc institutum.*—Pliny, *Hist. Nat. Lib. vii.*

^z *Licet urendi corpora defunctorum usus nostro sæculo nullus sit.*—Macrobius, *Saturnal. Lib. vii. c. vii.*

ashes and bones were carefully collected and deposited in an urn, which was then placed, either alone or with others, in a vault or cist, formed of rough stones, and covered over with earth; or else it was simply laid a little below the surface of the soil, without any tumulus over it, and seldom with any visible indication of sepulture whatever. In some places in or near cities and towns in Britain, formerly Roman stations, as at London and York, the general burial-place belonging to that particular station has been discovered by the number of urns and other sepulchral relics dug up within certain limits.

When three or four urns are found in a vault, or close together on one spot, it is highly probable that all such belonged to one family. Urns, apparently of Roman manufacture, have also been found singly, and at some distance from any known station.

The cinerary urns of the Romans differ much from the rude and unbaked urns of the Ancient Britons; and the manufacture of them, as may easily be conceived, was far superior: they were evidently turned by the lathe and wheel, and thoroughly burnt; in shape and size, however, they somewhat vary, though they are in general of a globular form in the body, and moulded quite plain, and they sometimes, though not always, are found to contain a small ampulla, a glass or earthen vial, commonly termed a *lacrymatory*; in which either perfumes, unguents, or lustral waters, used for purification, and to defend the manes from hovering over the ashes of the dead, were inclosed. They are also sometimes accompanied with *pateræ* or small shallow bowls of red Samian ware, *earthen cups*,^a and *præfericula*, or vessels with a narrow neck and

^a Inferimus tepido spumantia cymbia lacte

Sanguinis et sacri pateras—

VIRG. ÆN. 3.

bowed handle, used at sacrifices for the purpose of pouring out into the *pateræ* libations of milk, blood, and wine; which cups and vessels, when deposited in the grave, probably contained the like libations, and the meats offered at funerals; and besides these, earthen *lamps*,^b and coins. Glass sepulchral urns of elegant workmanship, filled with burnt bones, have likewise been occasionally found.

When the body was not burnt, it was disposed in the tomb or grave, with the arms straight down by the sides; and *pateræ*, *præfericula*, and earthen cups, lamps, lacrymatories, and coins, sometimes deposited with it. But many sepulchral remains, apparently Roman, have been dug up entirely devoid of these accompaniments.

Stone tombs, coffins, or sarcophagi, and even earthen coffins and sepulchres formed of tiles, were in some instances made use of by the Romans, wherein to inter their dead. These have been found to contain not only the remains of bodies buried entire, but also cinerary urns. Coffins of lead have likewise been dug up in burial places of the Romans.

It does not appear that it was ever customary amongst the Romans, except in very early times, and on very special and particular occasions, to raise barrows over their dead, either in Italy, or in any of their conquered provinces; and, consequently, those tumuli which appear on eminences along or near their roads, and which are found to contain skeletons, urns, and other funeral relics, may possibly have been originally constructed over the bodies of some of the British Chieftains engaged in the Roman service,

^b The sepulchral lamp was regarded as allegorical of the cessation of mortal life. Hence Polynices is represented as inferring his own approaching death from seeing in a vision,

Conjugis Argeiæ lacera cum lampade moestam

Effigiem.

Stat. Theb. xl. 142.

and may afterwards have served as exploratory mounts, beacons, or signal posts, for which purposes alone many of them seem to have been thrown up.

The sepulchral remains of the Romans may be distinguished from those of the Britons, by their well-burnt and elegantly-shaped urns, and also by their lamps, *pateræ*, *præfericula*, and lacrymatories, which articles are neither found in the tumuli of the ancient, or of the later Britons, or early Saxons. It was also unusual, and contrary to the Roman custom, at least during the ages of the higher empire, to bury ornaments or arms with the dead; the implied construction of the laws of the twelve tables was against such a practice; and both Papinian and Ulpian, the celebrated civilians who flourished in the third century, have on this subject expressed their opinions. "The inconsiderate desires of the dead respecting their sepulture, ought not," says the former, "to be carried into effect; as if, for instance, any one should wish for garments, or any other superfluities, to be expended on his funeral."^c And Ulpian declares, that "ornaments ought not to be buried with the dead, nor any thing else of the kind."^d

But amongst both the Ancient and Romanized Britons and Early Saxon Invaders, the custom was far otherwise, since they were wont to deposit with their dead all the trinkets, ornaments, and arms, which belonged to them when alive; and the presence or absence of these may frequently serve as the only criterion to distinguish between a Roman and a British or Saxon grave.

^c *Ineptas voluntates defunctorum circa sepulturam (veluti vestes aut si qua alia supervacua ut in funus impendantur) non valere.*—Papinianus, lib. 3.

^d *Non autem oportet ornamenta cum corporibus condi nec quid aliud hujusmodi, quod homines simpliciores faciunt.*—Ulpianus, lib. 14.

This subject, however, cannot be well elucidated without adducing descriptions of some of the sepulchral vestiges of the Romans discovered in Britain.

The ancient burial place of the Romans belonging to Londinium (London) was to the north of the city, outside of the walls, near Bishopsgate. Here, as Stowe informs us,^e lieth a large field, of old time called Lolesworth, now Spitalfield, which about the year 1576 was broken up for clay to make bricks, in the digging whereof many earthen urns were found, full of ashes and burnt bones of men; each of these had in them, with the ashes of the dead, one piece of copper money, some of which were of Claudius, some of Vespasian, some of Nero, of Antoninus Pius, of Trajanus, and others. Besides those urns, many other pots were found in the same place, made of a white earth, with long necks and handles, like to our stone jugs.^f These were empty; but seemed to have been buried full of some liquid matter, long since consumed, and soaked through. For there were found divers vials,^g and other fashioned glasses, some most curiously wrought, and some of crystal. Some of these glasses had oil in them, very thick, and earthy in savour. Some were supposed to have had balm in them. There were also found divers dishes and cups, of a fine red-coloured earth,^h which shewed outwardly such a shining smoothness, as if they had been of coral. These had, in the bottom, Roman letters printed. There were, also, lamps of white and red earth, artificially wrought with divers antiques about them. In the same field also hath been found divers coffins of stone, containing the bones of men, as also the skulls and bones of men buried without coffins, or in coffins of wood.

^e Stowe's Survey of London, Book ii. c. v.

^f *Prefericula*.

^g *Lacrymatories*.

^h *Pateræ* of Samian ware.

The Roman burial place at York, the ancient Eboracum, was near the river, outside of Bootham Bar, and about a furlong from the city. Here many sarcophagi, or stone coffins, and a great quantity of urns of different colours, shapes, and sizes, have been disclosed and thrown up. Many hundred urns have been discovered without the walls of York, at various times, but none within; and in the suburbs, on the southern side of this city was discovered, in the year 1807, a Roman vault, the walls of which were of stone, and the top arched with bricks a foot square; this vault was eight feet in length, six feet in height, and five feet in width, and was found to contain a sarcophagus cut out of a single grit stone, and covered with a blue flag, in which was a skeleton lying with the head elevated by being placed on a step; on each side of the skull a glass lacrymatory was found, one perfect, the other broken. The sarcophagus measured in length seven feet, in width three feet two inches, in depth eighteen inches, and in thickness four inches.¹ A stone sarcophagus, or coffin, enclosing a skeleton, was discovered in 1813, in the suburbs of St. Albans, the Roman Verulamium, near a road leading towards Redbourn. It was in the form of an oblong trough, perfectly plain, of the same width throughout, and without any circular inclosure for the head, as in the stone coffins of the middle ages; the lid was five inches thick. Besides the skeleton, the coffin contained three glass vessels of different forms, which were found standing in different parts of it. This coffin was afterwards removed to St. Michael's church.²

Two Roman tombs were found by the quarries half a mile out of Lincoln, on the Horncastle road; four great

¹ A view of this vault and sarcophagus is engraved in the 16th vol. of the *Archæologia*.

² *Archæologia*, vol. 17.

stones set together like a coffin, and one on the top. There were in them the bones of a man, with urns, lacrymatories, and coins. ^k

In the parish of Merkeshall, near Norwich, at the distance of two or three furlongs from the great Roman camp at Castor, the Venta Icenorum of Antoninus, the burial place belonging to that station has been discovered. Numerous sepulchral urns, containing calcined bones and ashes, have been taken up from this place; the substance of which they were composed was of a firm and glossy nature, apparently well dried or burnt; four of these urns, elegantly shaped and variously ornamented, were dug up, near the top of a natural elevation in the same parish.¹

An ancient Roman burial place was discovered in the year 1810, in a garden in the village of Fordington, about fifty yards east from the corner of the walk called the Walls, on the east side of Dorchester, (the Roman station Durnovaria.) From this garden the possessor had occasion to remove a large quantity of earth. The space opened was about ninety-two feet in length, and about forty-three feet wide; the greatest depth dug out was about thirteen feet, but the land lying on a gradual ascent, the depth was not uniform through the whole extent. In this excavation was observed, first a light black earth for about two feet, next a brown marble with chalk of one foot, then entirely chalk. On throwing out the chalk, human skeletons were found in great numbers, certainly not less than a hundred, together with numerous urns of various forms and sizes; many fragments of urns and of pateræ were also discovered. Some of the urns were ornamented with indentations like net work; others with

^k Gough's Sep. Mon. Introd. p. xxii.

¹ They are engraved in the 18th vol. of the Archæologia.

diagonal lines; some were surrounded with a wave-like ornament; others had clusters of lines, and these crossed again at intervals with similar lines. Some were of red earth, some of reddish brown earth, and others of black earth. The bodies were found lying in different directions, and at various depths, to nearly the bottom of the excavation. About twenty urns of different forms and sizes were taken up and preserved: many others were destroyed. The larger urns contained bones partially consumed by fire; one of these urns was about three parts filled with such bones, which were quite free from any mixture of charcoal or earth, and appeared in this as well as in others, to have been carefully collected and deposited in the urn. This urn was covered with a patera or saucer of black earth, full of charcoal; both the patera and urn were removed in complete preservation. The small urns, (*cymbia*,) did not in general contain any bones or ashes, and were generally found at the head of the unburnt skeleton. Many fragments of pateræ of black earth were found, and also of urns or vessels (*præfericula*) of a large size, having a very small mouth and handle. A coin of Hadrian, the only one discovered, of the middle or second brass size, was found lying on the breast of one of the bodies.^m

In digging by the side of the high road near Chesterton, Huntingdonshire, in 1754, was found a coffin of a yellowish hard stone, six feet two inches long, covered with a flat lid, which had on the underside an edging let quite down, about one inch and a half or two inches deep, coinciding with the edges of the chest, and containing an entire skeleton near six feet long, the teeth sound and firm, the ribs fallen from the back bone; also three glass lacrymatories, one of which was entire, and contained a corrupted fungous sub-

^m *Archæologia*, vol. xviii. p. 421.

stance mixed with water, a small brass seal, three or four pins of ebony or agate, and coins of Faustina and Gordian. The substance of nine or ten other skeletons was found near the chest, and all of them only at the depth of one foot.¹

Near the river Severn, and at a short distance from Wroxeter, the ancient Uriconium, a discovery was made in the year 1798 of an inclosure of large stones, a little below the surface, within which were deposited three large *glass urns*, each with one handle, elegantly ribbed; they contained burnt bones, and in each was a lacrymatory of the same materials as the urns, which were of a most beautiful transparent light green. Some earthen urns, an earthen lamp, and a few coins of the Lower Empire, were found at the same place, and the whole were covered with large flat stones; it was supposed to have been the burial place of some family of distinction residing at the neighbouring colony of Uriconium.^m

In the year 1804 at Ashby Puerorum, in Lincolnshire, a stone chest was found about three feet below the surface of the earth, wherein a *glass urn* of a greenish hue, filled with burnt bones and ashes, was deposited; a small lacrymatory was also discovered amongst the fragments.ⁿ

A burial place was some years ago discovered at Southfleet, in Kent, in a field called Lole Field, adjoining to Watling Street. A horse's feet sinking in whilst ploughing, led to an urn of rude strong red pottery, covered with a tile containing burnt bones, and part of a glass lacrymatory. A second was found of a different shape, and smaller. Nine feet south from the urns was a stone tomb covered with two large stones, into each of which was cemented an iron ring. The tomb contained two rude *leaden coffins*, in

¹ Gough's Sep. Mon. Introd. p. xxiii.

^m Gent's Mag. Feb. 1797. ⁿ Ibid. Oct. 1804.

the form of parallelograms, covered with cement and nails, which may have formed wooden cases. In each coffin was the perfect skeleton of a child of seven or eight years of age; and with one a handsome gold chain, like a watch chain, ornamented with angular pieces of a bluish green stone or composition; in the middle of each alternate link there had been pearls, and at the bottom a square flat stone set in gold, with an intaglio of an oval shape; a gold ring with two serpents' heads at the junction, and another with a jacinth. A little distance from this, about three feet below the surface, a stone pavement was found, and under it a sarcophagus divided into two parts, nicely fitted together by a groove, and hollowed in an oval form for the reception of two *glass urns*, one of them containing the lesser portion of the bodies, which occupied one-third of it, and filled to the brink with a transparent liquor without smell or taste; the other containing the remaining part of the bodies, and some of the same liquor, which had been absorbed or evaporated; between the urns were two pairs of decayed shoes of superb and expensive workmanship, the leather reticulated with gold thread. The dress had also been put into the sarcophagus, but was decayed. On each side of the sarcophagus were large earthen urns, with ashes, all broken by the superincumbent weight. Very near the sarcophagus, and on a level with it, were deposited two empty red earthen pint bottles and two red pans, in one of which were two small rib bones and some ashes, all protected by four stones covered with a larger. It is probable, from the form and ornaments of the shoes, that this was a family vault in the Lower Empire.^o

At Reston, in Kent, the foundations of a building of a circular form, supposed to have been a Roman temple, were

^o *Gent.'s Mag.* Feb. 1804.

a few years ago discovered; and amongst other relics found near, were two stone sarcophagi or coffins, one of which was of a rectangular oblong shape, covered with a heavy coped lid, much like the triangular-shaped coverings to stone coffins of the twelfth century; the other coffin narrowed towards the feet, and on one side was cut a plain angular-shaped tablet, of undoubted Roman design. ^p

In some parts of Britain sepulchres have been found of a roof-like shape, and formed of Roman bricks or tiles. One of these was discovered at York in the year 1768, in a piece of ground near the city walls, west of Micklegate Bar; each side was composed of three large tiles, each twenty inches long and fifteen broad; these were placed in a triangular or roof-like form, and covered at the top with small hollow semicircular tiles; the tomb was about three feet and a half in length, and contained some bones and several urns, wherein were ashes; also a *præfericulum*, and part of a vessel of a red colour, probably a *patera*. Each end of the sepulchre was closed with a tile of the same dimensions as those at the sides, and on each of these end tiles was this inscription, LEG. IX. HIS. ^q

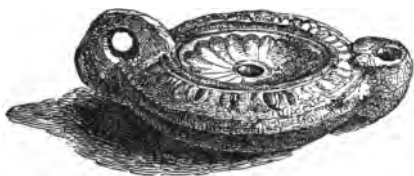
In 1726 Dr. Stukeley saw in St. Botolph's church yard, Bishopsgate, London, which was near to and probably formed part of the general cemetery of the Romans to that city, a Roman grave made of great tiles or bricks, each twenty-one inches long, which kept the earth from the body. ^r

Though it is hardly possible in all instances to discriminate between the sepulchral remains of the Roman settlers in Britain and those of the natives under their sway, yet the absence of tumuli, arms, and ornaments, and the inhu-

These are engraved in the 22d Vol. of the *Archæologia*. ^q *Ibid.* 2d vol.

^r Gough's *Sep. Mon.* Introd. p. xxviii.

mation of urns and bodies entire, accompanied with lacrymatories, pateræ, præfericula, and lamps, will in most cases be found to constitute the more prominent indications of the burial places of the former, whilst the latter, though become more civilized, still retained, with some modifications, the customs of their ancestors, and continued to inter their dead with arms, and in their choicest apparel. Hence the analogy and distinction should be made between those places of sepulture wherein ornaments and arms are found, and those which contain, together with the interments, lamps and libatory vessels only, used at the sepulchral sacrifice.



Roman Sepulchral Lamp.



Roman British Sepulchral Antiquities.†

CHAPTER III.

OF THE SEPULCHRAL REMAINS OF THE ROMANIZED BRITONS AND EARLY SAXONS.

THE practice of barrow burial, though continued to the seventh or eighth century, does not appear to have been so prevalent in South Britain during the Roman sway, as it was before the conquest by that nation, or even after their final departure; for we find in very few of the large British tumuli either urns, arms, or other articles of a de-

† 1. Sepulchral Urn. 2, 3. Drinking Cups. 4, 5. Iron Umbo of a Shield. 6, 7. Spear Heads of iron. 8. Iron Knife. 9. Spear Head. 10. Iron Pin. 11. Hooked Instrument of iron. 12, 13. Remains of Iron Buckles. 14. Sword of iron.

scription such as we might assume would supersede the rude-formed weapons of stone and brass, and urns and cups of unbaked earth, used by the Britons before that period; and in lieu of which they must soon have acquired from their conquerors others more artfully shaped, and fabricated from better materials.

An investigation into the sepulchral remains of the Romanized Britons was a subject, amongst others, to which the attention of Sir R. C. Hoare, the historian of Ancient Wiltshire, was directed.

"Another matter of inquiry," says he, "has always most strongly excited my curiosity; namely, the places selected for burial by the Romanized Britons. That after the conquest of our island by the Romans, the Britons associated with them in their original settlements, and were instructed by them in their arts and sciences, is both natural and evident from the fragments of Roman pottery, stuccoed walls, hypocausts, &c. which we have invariably found on the scite of British towns and villages; but where did they bury their dead? Certainly not in tumuli; for no Roman urn has been discovered within them in our district. Chance, however, may on a future day point out their mausolea, and reward some zealous antiquary with a rich collection of ancient relics. Chance alone can make this desirable study; for we have as yet no clue to guide us, and no apparent symptom to direct the operation of our spades in this particular inquiry."

But interments, both by cremation and of the body entire, have been discovered near the scites of some Roman British towns. Funeral urns, shaped in a different manner from those peculiar to the Ancient Britons, turned by the lathe, and formed after Roman models, yet unaccompanied with any of those articles, which so forcibly characterise

the burial places of the Romans, have been dug out of tumuli; and interments have also been found where bodies, accompanied by *arms and instruments of iron*, beads, ornaments of bronze, and drinking cups, have been inhumed at a very short distance beneath the surface, without any superincumbent tumuli.

These interments, in which are indications of an intermixture of the ancient British and Roman modes of burial, may very probably have been those of the Romanized Britons, and of those German tribes, who, serving as allies in the Roman army, were brought over to Britain, where they were rewarded with donations of land, and settled.

In Caledonia, a country never entirely subdued by the Romans, the practice of barrow burial continued; the funeral ceremonies are described in the poems of Ossian, where allusion is made to "the green hills," and mounds of earth heaped up over the mighty dead. These poems are supposed to refer to events which took place about the third century of the Christian era, and to have been written very soon after.^u

When the Romans were compelled to abandon Britain, the Caledonian tribes, the Picts and Scots, took advantage of the dissensions which, on their departure prevailed, to issue forth in predatory bands against the defenceless inhabitants of the south, who, having no longer foreign legions to rely upon for their protection, and divided amongst

^u Fall I may! but raise my tomb, Crimora! Grey stones, a mound of earth, shall send my name to other times.—Carrie-Thura.

Behold that field, O Carthon! many a green hill rises there, with mossy stones and rustling grass: these are the tombs of Fingal's foes, the sons of the rolling sea!—Carthon.

Three bards attended us with songs. Three bossy shields were borne before us: for we were to rear the stone in memory of the past. We raised the mould around the stone, and bade it speak to other years—Corna-Dona.

themselves, were not able to withstand such sudden and repeated aggressions, and were at length necessitated to solicit aid from the Saxons, a powerful and warlike Teutonic tribe, which inhabited the northern parts of Germany. Accordingly, about the middle of the fifth century, a small body of Saxon warriors landed in South Britain, and these, with the assistance of some of the natives, drove back the northern invaders within their ancient limits, and were rewarded for their services with a considerable tract of land, with which for a time they were contented, but soon afterwards, on receiving from their own country considerable reinforcements of adventurers, they demanded an increase of territory, and being refused, made various attempts to settle themselves more securely in Britain, where, after a protracted and brave, but ineffectual struggle, by the natives, they succeeded in driving such of the latter who were not inclined to submit, into Cornwall and Wales, and at the close of the sixth century, had completely established themselves in the southern parts of Britain, which from the Angles, a tribe of Saxony, was thenceforth called England.

Anciently the Saxons, in common with other German nations, burnt their dead, as well as buried them entire. The ancient Germans, we are told by Tacitus, cared not for pompous funerals; this custom only was observed amongst them, namely, that the bodies of illustrious persons were burnt with particular kinds of wood; they heaped not up funeral piles with garments or perfumes; each one's own peculiar arms, and the horses of some of them, were cast into the fire. Their tombs were raised with turf, and they despised the lofty and costly magnificence of monuments as only burthensome to the dead.

There are scattered over various parts of this country, clusters of small campaniform, or conic-shaped barrows,

raised at a period evidently posterior to the settlement of the Romans; since in these have been discovered articles both of a warlike and domestic nature, very dissimilar to those deposited in the larger tumuli of the Celtic and Belgic tribes, from which these barrows differ likewise in construction; and these are conceived to have been the tombs of the later Britons, or early Saxon settlers, of the fifth, sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries.

In several parts of Kent are clusters or ranges of these small tumuli, as on Chatham Downs, at Ash, at St. Margaret's Cliff, between Deal and Dover, on Barham Downs near Canterbury, at Chartham near Canterbury, at Sibberts-would, now Shepherds-well, and in Greenwich Park. They occur likewise at Dinton, near Aylesbury, Bucks, at Winstor, Derbyshire, on Wimbleton Common, and elsewhere. Many, however, have been levelled for agricultural purposes.

Most of these have been found to contain interments by simple inhumation, accompanied by various warlike weapons, ornaments, decorations of the person, appendages of dress, and other funeral relics.

Some have been opened in which a spear-head, the boss or umbo of a shield, a knife, a buckle, and sometimes a sword, all of iron, and a vessel of earthenware, have been deposited with the body, apparently that of a male.

With interments of females, fibulæ or broaches and clasps of bronze, armillæ or bracelets, pensive ornaments, and beads of amber, glass, and earth, have been found.

Other articles that have been placed in these tumuli consist of vessels of earthen ware, glass cups, crystal balls, iron rings, hooked instruments of iron, bow braces, volsellæ or tweezers of bronze, finger rings of silver, brass, and iron, and coins of Anthemius, and Justinian, and others of the Lower Empire.

From fragments of iron nails and decayed wood found occasionally in these barrows, the dead are supposed to have been sometimes buried in coffins; and in several of the tumuli in Greenwich Park, braids of human hair, and shreds of woollen cloth, in the latter of which the bodies appeared to have been enveloped, were discovered.

The spear-head has been generally found near the right shoulder, the knife by the side of the body, and the umbo of the shield lying between the bones of the legs; this latter protuberance was no appendage to the bucklers of the Roman soldiery, but the 'bossy shield' was used by certain of the German tribes, so early as the first century; for we are informed, that in the battle fought between Agricola and Galgacus, the German auxiliaries of the Roman army, the Batavians, struck and mangled the faces of the enemy with the bosses of their shields. Two centuries later, as we have before noticed, the 'bossy iron shield' was common amongst the Caledonian tribes, and is often alluded to by Ossian. Those found in the small barrows of the later Britons, or early Saxons, are about six inches in diameter, have a rim through which they were riveted or fastened by nails to the shield, and generally terminate in a button.^u At a later period they assumed a more conical form, and ended in a point; but I am not aware that any of the latter kind have ever been discovered in barrows.

The swords which are sometimes found on the left side of the body, have no guards; but at the extremity of the handle there is a small cross bar, about as long as the breadth of the blade, which probably served in some measure to secure the casing or handle of wood; the length of the blade is

^u A very early MS. in the British Museum, Harl. Lib. No. 603, represents a Saxon warrior with a convex shield, with an iron boss terminating in a button.—Meyrick's Crit. Inq. Introd. p. lxii.

generally about thirty inches, of the handle five more, and the blades are two inches in breadth, double edged, and sharp pointed, and seem to have been inserted in wooden scabbards, which from the length of time have perished.

The buckle of brass or iron, often discovered near the middle of the body, was appended to and served to fasten the girdle or belt which encircled it.

The fibulæ taken from many of these small barrows are broaches of gold, silver, and brass or copper, with a moveable acus or pin, which perforated the garment, and served to connect one part of the dress with another; by the men they were used to fasten the tunic and chlamys or cloak on the right or left shoulder, and by the women the vestment in front of the breast. They are differently shaped; some oblong, and not very dissimilar, though much smaller, to the guard beneath the trigger of a gun, and with the acus compressed into the socket have been compared to a bow ready strung; others are of a circular form, varying from one to three inches in diameter, and these latter are sometimes ornamented with engraving and milling, and encased with garnets and turquoises. Besides these, are clasps of bronze and silver, which fastened the zones or girdles of the females.

The pensile ornaments or pendants are often of gold, set with garnets and other stones, and variously ornamented, and of an oval or circular shape; they were suspended from the neck by means of a loop attached to them, in the same manner as the Roman bullæ.

The beads which have often been found in these small tumuli are of amber, glass, and vitrified earth; the two former kinds have, by their long continuance in the earth, acquired an opaque thin coating or incrustation, and those of amber are irregular in shape; those of vitrified earth are

of variegated colours, with stripes of red, green, yellow, white, and blue, spirally, transversely, and perpendicularly disposed. In the *Gododin of Aneurin*, a poem of the sixth century, mention is made of the wreath of amber beads with which Hengist, the Saxon chieftain, is therein represented to have been adorned. From the situation, however, in which they commonly appear in sepulchral tumuli, their use as a necklace is evident; and they are seldom or never discovered in the same grave with articles of a warlike description, but principally with female interments.

The glass cups or vases, and crystal balls, occasionally extracted from these tumuli, are thought to have been appropriated to certain funeral rites and magical purposes; and the bottles and vessels of earthenware, for libation and lustral purification.

From filaments of cloth found accreted to the acus or iron pin of the fibula and buckles, and from the impression of woollen and linen on iron arms and instruments, it would seem that the dead were buried in their customary apparel, with their arms and personal decorations properly arranged.

The funeral relics discovered in these tumuli, considered as the graves of the Romanized or later Britons and early Saxons, bear an affinity in some respects to the sepulchral remains of the Romans: but the arms, ornaments, and articles deposited, vary from those of that nation; nor was the mode of barrow burial ever prevalent amongst the Romans. Amongst other articles, it is true, we sometimes meet with coins of the lower empire, but as many of these are of a period subsequent to the final departure of the Romans from this country, they cannot be considered as a criterion whereby we are able with certainty to ascertain to what people these interments may be ascribed; much must, undoubtedly, be left to conjecture: from the

long continuance, however, of the Romans in this island, and the intercourse and frequent movements which subsequently took place between the legions formed out of the tribes of Britain, and those of Germany and Gaul, the supposition cannot be otherwise than reasonable, strengthened also by a comparison between these and the ancient British tumuli and Roman places of burial, that an intermixture or blending of funeral customs took place, and that the later Britons and early Saxons followed in their burials partly their own, and partly the rites, adopted by them, of the Romans.

A range of small tumuli on Borrough Hill, near Daven-try, Northamptonshire, were opened in the year 1823, under the inspection of Mr. Baker, the historian of that county.

One of these exhibited a simple interment by cremation ; the floor was covered with a single course of small stones, in a circle of about four feet diameter ; upon it was spread, about two inches in thickness, the burnt ashes and bones of the deceased, intermixed with charcoal and red earth. At the east end lay a rude buckle of brass without a tongue, and also a considerable quantity of the same metal so corroded, that it broke to pieces on removing. Above was another single course of stones, succeeded by a stratum of fine dark earth, nearly a foot thick, which was surmounted by stones apparently piled with care to the height of near two feet, and thinly covered with turf.

In another, at the depth of two feet from the apex, was a small circular cist, just large and deep enough to contain an urn of light brown ware, about eight inches high, covered with five stones, the points of which were rudely angular, meeting in the centre, and surmounted by the fifth.

Another, which scarcely exceeded a foot in its highest elevation, disclosed, about three feet below the central

surface, a circular cist, rather more than three feet in diameter, excavated out of the natural substratum of yellowish sand; the inner edge was lined with small stones, and the urn and its accompaniments were surrounded with fine maiden earth. The urn, which was of a mixture of coarse sand, and blackened by the smoke of the funeral pile, contained the same deposit as the preceding ones, except that the bones were less consumed; it stood at the east end, with its mouth upwards, and uncovered. Contiguous to it, on the south, was a small vessel with a handle: a few inches to the west of the urn was a libatory or sacrificial patera of the red glazed Samian ware; and in a proximate position to it were corroded nails and fragments of iron.

Another of these tumuli was composed of the soil of the surrounding ground, piled over the sepulchral deposit, and was thought to have been a family barrow, as it disclosed four distinct interments on the same level, with crematory urns of different sizes. The first urn, which contained ashes, burnt bones, and earth, was discovered north of the centre, about two feet below the apex,—it was formed of a coarse light reddish earth, unornamented, unbaked, or baked only in the sun, nine inches in height and in its widest diameter, and graduating to three inches at the base. Near it were the broken remains of a smaller one of a bluish grey colour. About three feet to the south, near the centre, was an urn of light reddish earth, assimilating in form to the first, and the mouth covered with a large rude stone; parallel to this covering stone, and transversely to the urn, lay a small vessel, with a narrow neck and bowed handle. About the same distance, bearing south west, the third interment appeared. The urn varied but little in size and contour from the preceding, but was of a bluish, or rather blackish earth; and judging of the regularity of the close

and narrow lines which encircled it, must have been turned in a lathe. It was accompanied by a small vessel, nearly the counterpart of the one in the last, but not perfect; the handle was broken, and the fracture there and on the side proved its crude half-baked composition.

Within a foot of the last, on the west side, was the fourth interment, probably of an infant connected with the larger one; the urn, which was of light red earth, and filled with ashes, bones, and mould, as the others, being only five inches high, and unaccompanied with any vessel.

The urns were all of the globular shape, and none of that truncated cone-like form so common amongst the Ancient Britons.

Some of these funeral interments Mr. Baker was inclined to attribute to the Britons prior to the Roman invasion, and others to the Romanized Britons; but from the pateræ, and vessels with bowed handles or præfericula deposited with some of the interments, it is probable that such were Roman.

In the summer of 1824, some labourers employed to repair the Watling-street road, near Bensford Bridge, on the borders of Leicestershire and Warwickshire, and between the stations Tripontium and Venonis, disturbed a number of human skeletons, which lay buried in the centre and on the sides of the road at the space only of about eighteen inches or two feet below the surface. A variety of articles, such as umbos or bosses of shields, spear heads, knives, rings, hooked instruments, and buckles of iron, were dug up with these remains; as were also several unbaked or half-baked drinking cups, each containing about half a pint; almost all these latter, however, were so friable, that they crumbled to pieces, or were broken by the pick axe and

spade. Many of the interments were apparently those of females and children; and with these were found fibulæ both of the long or bow-shaped, and circular kind, clasps, rings, tweezers, and other ornaments and articles appertaining to females, chiefly of brass, though some few were of silver; with these also were beads of amber, glass, and vitrified earth, variously coloured and shaped. One funeral urn only was discovered; this was well baked, had evidently been turned in a lathe, and was rudely ornamented; it contained ashes concreted together in a lump at the bottom; close to the urn lay an iron sword, the only one discovered; and on the mouth of the urn was a spear head of iron, distinguished from the rest by having a narrow rim of brass round the socket. The sword was thirty-five inches in length, and two in breadth; at the extremity of the hilt was a small cross bar, but it had no guard; it was double-edged and pointed, and indications of a case or scabbard appeared, in which it had been kept. The umbos were somewhat of a conical form, had a projecting rim by which they were nailed to the shield, and terminated at the top or extremity in a button. The spear heads were of different sizes, varying from six to fifteen inches in length, and the sockets still retained within them the wood of the shafts.

No particular notice was at the time taken of the manner in which these various articles were disposed, with reference to the bodies interred; the umbos, however, appeared as if placed on the breast of the body, the spear heads near the head or shoulder, and the knives by the side.

This curious depositary of the dead extended along the road for the length of half a mile on high ground, to the south east of the bridge. No Roman station is within some miles of the spot; but at Cestersover, which is close

by, are vestiges of an ancient town, similar to some of those discovered in the Wiltshire Downs, and supposed by Sir R. C. Hoare to have been inhabited by the Romanized Britons; and these mouldering relics I am inclined to think were either those of the Romanized Britons of a late period, or perhaps of the early Saxons.†

In the first plate of the "*Nenia Britannica*," is represented the horizontal section of one of the small tumuli opened on Chatham Downs. The cist in which the body was deposited was near eight feet in length, three feet in breadth, and four feet below the level of the native soil; the head was to the south, and the bones, from their size and texture, obviously those of a male; near the right shoulder was a spear head, the haft or socket of which still contained decayed wood; near the last bone of the vertebræ or close to the os sacrum, was a brass buckle, which probably served to fasten the belt; on the right side, and near the hip, was a knife, with impressions of wood and cloth upon it, in which it appeared to have been incased; between the thigh bones lay the umbo or boss of the shield; on the left side was an iron sword, thirty-five inches in length, two in breadth, double-edged and sharp pointed; it had no guard, but at the extremity of the handle was a small cross bar; it appeared to have been encased in a scabbard, the external covering of which was of leather, and the internal of wood; at the foot of the skeleton was a vessel of red earth, in the form of a globular shaped bottle or pitcher, twelve inches in height, and five in its largest diameter.

In another barrow of the same range, an iron spear head, fifteen inches in length, was found deposited on the

† The engravings at the head and conclusion of this chapter are of several of the sepulchral relics discovered at this place.

right shoulder, an iron knife on the left side, near the middle of the body, with impressions on it of linen cloth and wood; near the knife was the fragment of an iron buckle, which seemed to have fastened the belt, and between the legs was the iron boss or umbo of a shield, five inches in diameter, and about the same in height.

In another of these tumuli, and on the left side of the skeleton, was a buckle of mixed metal, tin and copper, with an appendage to fasten on the girdle; near this was an iron knife, and in the same place a volsella or tweezer of bronze; close to the os humeri of the right side was a spear head of iron, with impressions of linen cloth, and decayed wood in the socket, apparently ash.

In another of the small barrows on Chatham Downs, which contained the remains of a female, a circular fibula of copper, plated with gold, was discovered on the breast, near the collar-bone; two oblong fibulæ of copper gilt, highly ornamented, with the acus of iron or steel, and an iron knife, were lying on the left side of the skeleton; and close by was an iron buckle with a tail which received the girdle or belt; near the pelvis were ten silver wire rings, with beads pendant to them of glass, amber, vitrified earth, and crystal; between the femur bones was a silver spoon, the bowl of which was perforated, and the handle ornamented with garnets: two silver coins of Anthemius and Valentinianus was taken from the same barrow.

Within another, thirty-six amber beads, which appeared to have formed a necklace, were discovered near the collar-bone; on the left side was a metal pin, a silver fibula, and a knife; and near the bones of the hand a silver finger ring; near the centre of the body a glass cup, about four inches in diameter across the rim, and about two deep, was placed in an inverted position, and close to this

was a crystal ball,* enclosed in a cap of silver, and pendant to two silver rings. Coins of Constantius and the second Valentinian were also found in this, which was a female interment.

Twenty-five beads of glass, amber, and amethysts, and a small gold pensile ornament, was found in another barrow, near the head; on the breast was a circular fibula of silver gilt, enchased and ornamented with garnets; and in the centre of the grave were fragments of iron rings and hooks, the latter of which have been discovered in other barrows containing female interments, and are conceived to have been curling instruments for the hair.

In a barrow adjoining the Roman causeway, on the race plain near Salisbury, opened by Mr. Cunnington, and by him described as *a very small one*, it was observed that previous to the construction of the mound a large oblong pit had been made in the native soil, to the depth of three feet and a half; and on the floor, which was very even, were found intermixed with the chalk the following articles, viz. an iron sword, twenty-nine inches long in the blade and two inches wide; the handle set in wood, without a guard, double edged, and terminating in an obtuse point; and from the quantity of decomposed wood, it appeared to have been protected by a scabbard. Three spear heads of iron, and of different lengths, all retaining a part of the shaft in the socket: the largest of these was three inches and three quarters long, and nearly five inches wide. Near the above were found the blades of two knives, the umbo of a shield, and some circular crosses belonging to the same; also a very neat brass buckle, with some leather

* A crystal ball was, with numerous other articles, found in the tomb of Childeric I. King of the Franks, who died about the middle of the fifth century, A. D. 459.

adhering to it, and several other small buckles of iron. Close to the umbo lay four or five rings of silver wire, and two elegant ornaments of brass of a pyramidical form, five-eighths of an inch in the base, ornamented with garnets set in white enamel upon a gold chequered foil; they appeared to have been used as bracelets, as there were little bars on the inside, to fasten them to the arm. Close to these articles was deposited a shallow vessel of thin brass, which bore the marks of gilding, with a handle also of brass. At a little distance to the south of the above were two glass vessels, or cups, one of them of a greenish tint, three inches and a half in diameter, and the same in depth; it had sixteen ornamental cords or flutings arranged at equal distances around its sides, and it stood firm upon its base. The other was of a white thin glass, six inches in depth and about three across the rim, but so narrow at bottom that it could not stand upright. It was a remarkable circumstance, that in this barrow not the slightest marks of any interment could be traced.^x

In a small low barrow on Rodmead Down, Wiltshire, opened by Sir R. C. Hoare, a skeleton was discovered extended at full length, with the head towards the north east. With it were deposited a brazen vessel, gilt within, very similar in appearance to the one discovered in the barrow on the race plain near Salisbury, above described; this was placed at the feet; the umbo of a shield, of iron, somewhat of a conical form, near which were two studs plated with silver, and a buckle and clasp of brass; a two-edged sword, two feet six inches long, and one inch three-quarters wide;^y a knife four inches long and one

^x Hoare's *Anc. Wilts.* vol. ii. p. 26, Roman era.

^y Of the iron weapons found in these tumuli, which indicate them to be of later date than the ancient British, the swords chiefly claim our attention; these are not, indeed, found with every interment where arms of a similar

inch and a half wide; another three inches long; a spear head, eleven inches long, and one and a half wide; and another six inches and a half long, and one inch and a quarter wide.^z

Sir R. C. Hoare does not give any decided opinion as to what people the articles extracted from the barrow on the Salisbury race plain might be assigned; but he states that he had reason to think they were more connected with the Roman than the British era. The barrow opened on Rodmead Down he supposes may have contained the remains of a Belgic warrior.

From a comparison, however, of the articles discovered in these low barrows, with those described by Mr. Douglass, and found in the small barrows opened by him in Kent, and also with those of a very different kind, found in the larger and more ancient tumuli, it is very evident that these sepulchral vestiges pertained neither to the Celtic or Belgic Britons, but that they belonged either to some of the German auxiliaries serving in the Roman army, of the later Britons under the Roman sway, or of the early Saxon invaders.

Many other tumuli have been opened in different parts of the country, which have contained arms and articles

nature to those placed with them are deposited, but apparently distinguish the graves of chieftains; they are peculiar in their make, similar in form and nearly so in size; they are double-edged, without any guard, but have a small cross-bar at the extremity of the handle: they differ much from the brazen swords with the leaf-shaped blades of the Ancient Britons, as they do also from the gladius or short Roman sword; neither do they at all correspond with the *sax*, or short curved sword, by which, at a later period, the Saxons and Danes were distinguished. These weapons, and the appendages of dress, fibulae, buckles, &c. extracted from these tumuli, evidently belong either to the latter part of the Roman era, or to a period antecedent to the general subjugation of this country by the Saxons; and the opinion of Mr. Douglass, who ascribes them to be chiefly of or about the fifth century, seems to be the most correct.

^z Hoare's Anc. Wilts. vol. i. p. 47.

of a similar nature to, and deposited in the same manner as, those just described, but within which, interments by cremation have been rarely found.

Olaus Wormius, in treating of the ancient Danish burials, distinguishes them by three epochs or ages, in each of which a different mode of sepulture was practised. The first of these was called *Roisold*, the second *Hoigold*, and the third *Christendom's Old*.

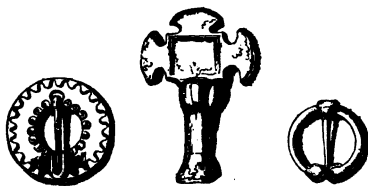
The first, *Roisold* or *Brende-tiid*, that is, the age when they burnt, was that in which the corpse was carried to an open spot near the highway, or to some land particularly apportioned for that purpose, where a considerable space was inclosed with great stones for its reception, and there it was burnt; the ashes were then collected and deposited in an urn, round which stones of a great size were placed, so as to encircle it, having a large superincumbent stone upon it; the whole area was then filled with stones, sand, and earth, heaped together until the form of a hillock was assumed; last of all, this was covered with turf.

The second age, called *Hoigold*, was that when the body was not burnt, but buried entire, in the midst of a great circle of stones, together with the ornaments that belonged to the party when alive; earth and sand were then raised over the body to some height, and the exterior covered with turves.

The third age was called *Christendom's Old*, which commenced when Christianity prevailed; and the mode of interment then practised, of depositing the body in the grave, unburnt and without any superincumbent barrow, has been continued ever since.

Since the Danes did not much infest this island with their predatory excursions before the latter part of the

eighth century, when by the diffusion of Christianity a change from the old system and Pagan rites of sepulture had gradually been effected, very few, if any, of their ancient tombs, or such as can with probability be ascribed to them, have been discovered. Perhaps, however, along the eastern coast of Britain some such remains of this people may still exist; and in the northern parts of Scotland and the islands adjacent thereto, with which the Danes had anciently much intercourse, barrows and graves attributed to them have been opened, yet the uncertainty attached to their places of burial is such as forcibly to remind us of the words of the Caledonian bard, "They are now forgot in their land; their tombs are not found on the heath. Years came on with their storms. The green mounds are mouldered away."



Fibulae, or Broaches.



Stone Coffin, containing the remains of Henry of Worcester,
Abbot of Worcester, ob. 1263.—From the *Archæologia*.

CHAPTER IV.

OF THE DIFFERENT MODES OF PREPARING THE DEAD FOR INTERMENT;

From the Seventh to the Seventeenth Century.

DIFFERING in their manner of preparing the dead for interment from that practised by their ancestors, the Anglo-Saxons, after their conversion, ceased to bury them with ornaments or arms; but the body, having been carefully washed, was enshrouded in a strait linen dress, or inclosed in a linen sack, and it was then swathed closely round with a strong cloth; the head and shoulders, however, were left

uncovered till the time appointed for the burial, when they were entirely enveloped in the shroud.^a

The common people were buried without coffins; the higher classes were buried in coffins, some being constructed of wood, and some of stone; but they had, as yet, recourse to no means for the preservation of the body from corruption.

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries, however, a mode seems to have been devised and followed, of preserving the bodies of persons of rank from immediate decay, by salting them, and afterwards inclosing them in leather, or hides. This peculiar usage was probably discontinued about the commencement of the thirteenth century.

In this manner Hugh de Grentmesnel, who died A. D. 1094, was interred, his body having been salted, and wrapt up in a hide.^b

A stone coffin was discovered in 1724, in the Chapter House of Chester Cathedral, containing a body inclosed in leather, supposed to have been the remains of Hugh Lupus, who died A. D. 1101.^c

The body of Henry the First, who died A. D. 1135, having to be conveyed to a distance from the place where he died, was thus prepared: the bowels, brains, and eyes, were taken out and inhumed at Rouen, in Normandy; the body was then cut and gashed, and sprinkled with a quantity of salt, after which it was inclosed in bulls' hides; and in that state it was brought over to England, and buried at Reading.^d

^a Strutt.

^b Gough's Sep. Mon. vol. i. p. xlix.

^c Ibid.

^d Corpus autem Regis apud Rothomagum diu jacebat insepultum ubi viscera ejus cerebrum et oculi sunt humata. Reliquum vero corpus cultellis incisum et multo sale respersum causa fetoris qui magnus erat et circumstantes inficiebat in coriis reconditum est taurinis.—Matt. Paris, Hist. Angl.

The corpse of Geoffry de Magnaville, who died at Chester, A. D. 1165, was salted, and wrapped up in leather. ^e

The remains of the Empress Maud, who died A. D. 1167, and was buried in the Abbey of Bec, were found there in the year 1282, wrapped up in an ox's hide. ^f

Robert de Ferrers, founder of the Abbey of Merevale, in the county of Warwick, who died in the reign of Henry the Second, "lieth there," saith Dugdale, "wrapt in an ox's hide." ^g

But from the thirteenth century the modes of preparing the bodies of the nobility and higher ranks for interment were different to the one before adopted, since they were often regularly embalmed, or covered with cerecloths, and deposited in coffins of stone, lead, or wood.

The stone coffins were hewn out of a single block, with a recess shaped purposely to fit the head and body; they were seldom of the same width throughout, but tapered gradually from the head to the feet. The recess for the head was not cut so deep as that for the rest of the body, and a small circular orifice was frequently made in the bottom of the coffin, about the centre. ^h Coffins of this description were most common during the thirteenth century; they were, however, chiefly used for the interment of the upper classes, from the eleventh to the fourteenth century, after which they were generally, though gradually, superseded by coffins of lead, which latter are found to contain bodies embalmed, or preserved in cerecloths, much

^e Gough's Sep. Moñ. vol. i. p. xlix.

^f Bourget's Hist. of Bec.

^g Antiq. Warw. p. 1080.

^h This aperture was probably made for the purpose of carrying off any moisture or offensive matter that might exude from the body. The old French custom was somewhat different, but is yet explanatory of this,—
"Dans le fond du cercueil il est à propos d'y mettre du son vers le milieu, afin que si le corps se vuidoit, le son le put arrester."—Croix's *Le Parfait Ecclesiastique*, p. 636.

oftener than those of stone. The lids of the stone coffins were generally raised to the level of, or a few inches above, the pavement; and they are often found carved with crosses, or sculptured in high relief. The more ancient are angular, or ridge-shaped; and they form, indeed, the earliest specimens in this country of the monumental relics of the middle ages.

Leaden coffins, though occasionally used earlier, as at the interment of Stephen, who died in 1154, and was buried in one at Feversham, in Kent,¹ were not common till the fifteenth century, when the custom of embalming the body, preserving it in a liquid pickle, or covering it with cerecloth, became prevalent. The ancient leaden coffins were fitted to the shape of the body, and much resembled in form the outer case of an Egyptian mummy: they were often chested or inclosed in an outer coffin of wood, sometimes in one of stone, and have been frequently found to contain the liquid pickle in which the body was preserved.

From the perishable quality of the materials, of which wooden coffins were composed, little respecting their form or shape during the middle ages can be elucidated; it is, however, evident that the coffin lid was sometimes of an angular shape, '*en dos d'asne*,' as it is thus represented in an ancient illustration.^k In these it is probable that the bodies of the middle classes of society were buried, though even they were often interred without coffins. The bodies of the common people, down to so late an era as the sixteenth century, were only enveloped in a shroud, and so buried.

¹ Sandford's General Hist. p. 42.

^k In Nicholls' History of the Franciscans at Leicester, is the representation of a monkish funeral; the body is being conveyed in a wooden chest or coffin, which has an angular-shaped lid.

The cases or outer coffins of wood, in which leaden coffins were inclosed, were rectangular oblong chests, of an equal width throughout, and these were covered with black cloth or velvet, with a large white cross on the top. Such a one is depicted by John Rouse, in his representation of the funeral of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick.

As to the articles used for preserving the corpse, it appears that for the embalming of the body of Elizabeth, queen to Henry the Seventh, who died in 1502, there was an allowance made of sixty ells of Holland, ell wide, together with gums, balms, spices, sweet wines, and wax; the body having been cered with these, the king's plumber covered it with lead, there being thereon an epitaph, also in lead, shewing who she was. The leaden coffin was then chested in an outer case or coffin of boards, which was well cered, and covered with black velvet, with a cross on the top of white damask.¹

Great care was evidently taken, from an early period, in the preservation of the bodies of our English monarchs, most of which from the fourteenth century, have been embalmed; and it was anciently the custom to dress their bodies in regal habiliments, prior to interment.

The body of John, which Matthew Paris correctly states to have been after death '*regio schemate ornatum*', was in 1797 discovered in a stone coffin, beneath his monument, in the Choir of Worcester Cathedral. It had apparently been dressed in the same manner as is represented by the monumental effigy, except that instead of the crown on the head, a monk's cowl was substituted, which was deemed to be a passport through purgatory. The body was covered by a robe reaching from the neck nearly to the feet, and which had some of the embroidery still re-

¹ Sandford's Geneal. Hist. p. 439.

maining near the right knee. The cuff of the left arm, which had been laid on the breast, remained; in that hand a sword in a leather scabbard had been placed, as on the tomb, parts of which, much decayed, were found at intervals down the left side of the body to the feet, as were also parts of the scabbard. The legs had on a sort of ornamented covering, which was tied round at the ancles, and extended over the feet, where the toes were visible through its decayed parts.^m

Edward the First, who died in 1307, was interred in Westminster Abbey; and on its appearing from ancient records that the cerecloth which tended to preserve his body had been renewed several times after his death, in the reigns of Edward the Third and Henry the Fifth, permission was granted, in the year 1774, to the Antiquarian Society to examine his tomb, which was accordingly done. On opening the tomb, there appeared within a plain coffin of purbeck marble, the thickness of each side of which, as well as the lid, which was cut off from a block of the same kind of marble, was three inches; the lid was not cemented to the sides, but so closely fitted to them that no dust could penetrate. The royal corpse was found wrapped up in a large square mantle of strong, coarse, and thick linen cloth, diapered of a pale yellowish colour, and waxed on its under side. The head and face were covered with a sudarium, or face cloth, of crimson sarcenet. When the folds of the external wrapper were thrown back, and the sudarium removed, the body was discovered richly habited, adorned with ensigns of royalty, and almost entire. Its innermost covering seemed to have been a very fine linen cerecloth, dressed so close to every part of the body, that even the fingers had each a separate and distinct

^m Green's Account of the Discovery of the Body of King John.

envelope. The face, which had a similar covering fitted close to it, retained its exact form, although part of the flesh appeared to be somewhat wasted. It was of a dark brown or chocolate colour, as were the hands and fingers. The chin and lips were entire, but without any beard; above the cerecloth was a dalmatic, or tunic of red silk damask, upon which lay a stole of thick white tissue, about three inches in breadth, richly ornamented, crossed over the breast, and extending on each side downwards nearly as low as the wrist, where both ends were brought to cross each other. Over these habits was the royal mantle, or pall, of rich crimson satin, fastened on the left shoulder with a magnificent fibula of metal gilt, and composed of two joints pinned together by a moveable acus. The corpse, from the waist downwards, was covered with a large piece of rich figured cloth of gold, which lay over the lower part of the tunic, thighs, legs, and feet, and was tucked down behind the soles of the latter. Between the two fore-fingers and thumb of the right hand the sceptre, with the cross made of copper gilt, was held, and in the left hand the rod or sceptre, with the dove. On the head of the corpse, which lay in a recess hollowed out of the stone coffin, and properly shaped for its reception, was an open crown or fillet of tin or latten, charged on its upper edge with trefoils and gilt. The vestments, however, were not suffered to be removed from the body.^a

^a In the *Liber Regalis* deposited in the Chapter House, Westminster Abbey, supposed to have been written in the latter part of the fourteenth century, and in some other ancient MSS. the following directions are given as to the manner of laying out the bodies of our ancient kings when deceased, which agree with the foregoing account of the mode in which the body of Edward the First was attired.

“De exequiis regalibus cum ipsos ex hoc seculo migrare contigerit.”
 “Cum Rex inunctus migraverit ex hoc seculo, primo a suis cubiculariis,

But the custom of interring the bodies of our kings in their robes, and with ensigns of royalty, was afterwards discontinued, and an effigy of the deceased monarch, regally attired, was made to represent him; for, prefixed to an ancient account^o of the funeral of Edward the Fourth, appear the subjoined directions as to 'what shall be don on the demyse of a king annoynted:—

“When that a king annoynted is decessed, aft’ his body is sp’ged it must be washed and clensed by a bishop for his holy annoyntem^t, than the body must be bamed, wrapped in laun, or reyneze yf it may be gotyn, than hosyn cherte, & a peren of shone of rede lether, & do on his surcote of cloth, his cap of estate on his hed, and then ley hym on a fair borde cou’ed with cloth of gold, his on hand on his bely & a sep’r in the toder hande, & oon his face a kerchief, and so shewed to his noblez by the space of ii dayes and more, yef the weder will it suffre. And

corpus ejusdem aquâ calidâ sive tepidâ lavari debet, deinde balsamo et aromatibus unguetur per totum. Et postea in panno lineo cerato involvetur ita tamen quod facies et barba illius tantum pateant. Et circum manus et digitos ipsius dictus pannus ceratus ita erit dispositus ut quilibet digitus cum pollice utriusque manus singillatim inseratur per se, ac si manus ejus cirothecis lineis essent coopertæ. De cerebro tamen et visceribus caveant cubicularii prædicti. Deinde corpus induetur tunica usque ad talos longâ, et desuper Pallio regali adornabitur. Barba vero ipsius decenter componetur super pectus illius, et postmodum caput, cum facie ipsius sudario serico cooperietur ac deinde corona regia aut diadema capite ejusdem apponetur. Postea induentur manus ejus cirothecis cum aurofragiis ornatis; et in medio digito dextræ manus imponetur annulus aureus aut deauratus. Et in dextrâ manu suâ ponetur pila rotunda deaurata in quâ virga deaurata erit fixa a manu ipsius usque ad pectus protensa, in cujus virgæ summitate erit signum dominicæ crucis quod super pectus ejusdem principis honeste debet collocari; in sinistrâ vero manu sceptrum deauratum habetur usque ad aurem sinistram decenter protensum, ac postremo tibiæ et pedes ipsius caligis sericis et sandaliis induentur. Tali vero modo dictus princeps adornatus cum regni sui pontificalibus et magnatibus ad locum quem pro suâ sepulturâ eligerit cum omni reverentia deferetur et cum exequiis regalibus honestissime tradetur sepulture.”

^o Archæologia, vol. i. p. 348.

when he may not godely longer endur, take hym away and bowell hym, and then eftones bame hym, wrappe hym in raynez wele trameled in cords of silke, than in tarseryn tramelled, & than in velvet, & so in clothe of gold well tramelled, & than led hym & cofre hym, & in his leed with him a plate of his stile, name, & the date of our Lord gravyn, and yef ye cary hym make an ymage like hym clothed in a surcote wt a mantell of estate, the laces goodly lying on his bely, his sept'r in his hande, and a crowne on his hed, & so cary hym in a chare open wt lights and baners, accompanied with lordes and estates as the counseil can best devyse, having the hors of that chare trapped with diu'se trappers on elles wt blake trappers of blake with scochons richely betyn, and his officers of armes aboute hym in his cotes of armez, and then a lord or a knyght wt a courser trapped of his armez, his herneysz upon hym, his salet or basenet on his hed crowned, a shyld and a spere till he come to the place of his ent'ring. And at the masse the same to be offred by noble ducs."

In the celebrated romance of King Arthur, written in the reign of Edward the Fourth, the author evidently takes for his guide, in describing the burial of Queen Guenever, the prevailing practice of his own times. "She was," says he, "wrapped in seared cloths of reins from the top to the toe in thirty fold, and then she was put into a web of lead, and after in a coffin of marble."

The usage of embalming and covering with cerecloths the bodies of royal personages, has continued down to the present time; and formerly it was not so much as it is now confined to royalty, for the remains also of many other persons of rank were preserved, especially in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, by embalming and cerements.

Thus prepared, the body of Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, who died in 1424, and was buried at St. Edmundsbury, was discovered in the year 1772, by some workmen employed in digging for stone amongst the ruins of that abbey, in a leaden coffin made after the ancient custom, exactly the shape of the body; this had been inclosed in an outer case or coffin of oak, which by length of time was decayed, but the lead remained quite perfect; and when opened, the flesh, hair, toe, and finger nails, appeared as perfect and sound as though the duke had not been dead many hours; the head and face had been wrapped up in cerecloth, and the corpse had been soaked in a pickle.

The remains of Duke Humphrey, brother to Henry the Fifth, who died in 1446, were discovered in a vault beneath the Abbey Church of St. Albans, in the year 1703. "In this vault," as Salmon, who lived at the time the discovery was made, observes, "stands a leaden coffin, with the body preserved by the pickle it lies in, except the legs, from which the flesh is wasted, the pickle at that end being dried up. On the wall at the east end of the vault is a crucifix painted with a cup on each side of the head, another at the side, and a fourth at the feet. The vault looks very neat, and hath no offensive smell. The coffin, we are told, had an outside of wood, which is now entirely gone." P

The vault in Astley church, Warwickshire, where Thomas Grey, Marquis of Dorset, who died in 1532, was buried, was opened in the year 1608, and therein a great, large, and long coffin of wood found, which was burst open, and the body at the cutting open of the cerecloth viewed perfect and sound, nothing corrupted, the flesh of the body nothing perished or hardened, but in colour, proportion, and softness, alike to any ordinary corpse newly to be interred; his body

P Blore's Monumental Remains.

large, his hair yellow, his face broad, which might seem to be thus preserved by the strong embalming thereof. ^q

It was a common practice, when the body was embalmed, to take out the heart and bowels, and inter them in a different church to that in which the body was buried; and a request that this might be done was sometimes inserted in the will of the deceased. From numerous instances it appears that this custom prevailed from the twelfth to the eighteenth century.

The heart of Richard the First was buried at Rouen, his bowels at Chaluz, and his body at Fontevraud. ^r

The bowels of Ranulph de Blundvile, sixth earl of Chester, were buried at Wallingford, where he died in 1232, his heart at Dieulacres Abbey, which he had founded, and his body in Chester Chapter House. ^s

The heart of Robert Bruce, King of Scotland, who died in 1329, was taken out to be conveyed to Jerusalem, and buried near the holy sepulchre, by James, eighth lord of Douglas, whose family, from that circumstance, took the addition of a heart gules in a field argent. ^t

The bowels of Walter Skirlaw, Bishop of Durham, who died in 1405, were buried at Howden, in Yorkshire, where remains a slab, with a cross and this inscription :—

Hic requiescunt viscera Walteri Skirlaw, quæ
sepeliuntur sub hoc saxo A^{no} Dⁿⁱ 1405. ^u

The heart of Prince Arthur, son of Henry the Seventh, who died in 1502, was deposited in a silver box in the church at Ludlow, where he died, and his body was conveyed to Worcester: the heart was afterwards taken up, and the box embezzled. ^v

^q Dugdale's Antiq. Warw. p. 113.

^r Gough's Sep. Mon. vol. i. p. 72.

^s Ibid.

^t Ibid. p. 73.

^u Ibid.

^v Ibid.

The heart and bowels of Miles Salley, bishop of Landaff, who died in 1516, were, according to his will, buried before the high altar of the church at Mathern, where his episcopal palace was, and his body in St. Mark's Chapel, Bristol. ^w

In consequence of a tradition that the heart of Lord Edward Bruce, who was killed in a duel in 1613, and buried at Bergen, had been sent from Holland, and interred in the burying ground adjoining the old abbey church of Culross, in Perthshire, a search was made in the year 1806, with the following result. Two flat stones, without any inscription, about four feet in length and two in breadth, were discovered about two feet below the level of the pavement, and partly under an old projection in the wall. These stones were strongly clasped together with iron, and when separated, a silver case, or box shaped like a heart, was found in an excavated place between them. Its lid was engraved with the arms and name, "Lord Edward Bruce;" it had hinges and clasps, and when opened was found to contain a heart carefully embalmed in a brownish coloured liquid. After drawings were taken of it, it was carefully replaced in its former situation. There was a small leaden box between the stones in another excavation, the contents of which, probably the bowels, appeared reduced to dust. ^x

In Henry the Seventh's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, is a pyramid of black and white marble supporting a small urn, in which is contained the heart of Esme Stuart, son of the Duke of Richmond and Lennox, who died at Paris in 1661, aged 11 years. ^y

No small degree of care seems to have been bestowed, even from the Saxon era, on the remains of deceased ecclesiastics of all ranks; and the manner in which they were

^w Gough's Sep. Mon. p. 74.

^x Archæologia, vol. xx.

^y Ackermann's Westminster Abbey, vol. ii. p. 153.

attired for burial deserves to be particularly noticed. The bodies of bishops, abbots, and priors, were, whether embalmed or not, dressed in their episcopal and pontifical robes, generally with the pastoral staff and ring, and sometimes with the chalice and paten. Ecclesiastics of an inferior grade were buried in their sacerdotal vestments, with the chalice and paten on the breast; and monks and friars were inhumed in the cowl and garb peculiar to their different orders,² in which also lay persons who had contributed to the possessions of the church, were oft-times desirous of being buried.

According to Eddius, the Saxon historian, the body of Wilfred, Archbishop of York, who died in 708, and who was buried in the monastery of Ripon, was first washed by some of the clergy, and then clothed in his ecclesiastical dress; after awhile it underwent a second ablution, and was then wrapt in linen, and put into a coffin.

From the almost contemporaneous authority of Matthew Paris, it appears that Garinus, Abbot of St. Albans, who died in 1194, amongst other regulations for the monastery over which he presided, ordained that the bodies of deceased monks, which in all ages prior to his time were wont to be buried without any other covering than turves of earth, should for the future be inclosed in stone coffins. The same

² "Notandum est, quod cum univulque domui mendicantium aliquam eleemosinam dono dederit vir mortuus, tum cadaver ejus veste fratris mendicantis indutum est, idemque uniuscujusque ordinis frater unus linteolis ad ecclesiam sepulchrum versus asportat et in hunc modum eorum oranium confratri agnoscitur mortuus, et bonorum operum cujuscunque ordinis mendicantium (uti asseritur) fit particeps. Nec mirum igitur, quod super tumulos suos, et monumenta sepulchralia, laicorum etiam mortuorum effigies vestibus religiosiis a sculptoribus indute, non raro videntur expresse."—Peck's MSS. Vol. V. (Harl. MSS. 4838) p. 11.—Nicholls' Hist. Leicester, p. 272.

author acquaints us also with the accustomed mode in which, in his time, the bodies of abbots and other high ecclesiastics were prepared for interment; for in his description of the burial of Willielmus, Abbot of St. Albans, who died in 1235, we are told that when the breath had left the body, it was stripped and washed in the chamber where the abbot died, and the head and beard were shaved; certain of the monks were then admitted, with one secular attendant only, who had to perform the operation of opening the body; an incision was then cut in the windpipe, and from thence to the lower part of the body; the entrails were then taken out, placed in a vessel, and having been sprinkled with salt, were inhumed with certain ceremonies in the accustomed burial place. The inward parts of the body were then washed, soaked with vinegar, and thoroughly saturated with salt; this was done with great care, in order that the body, being kept above ground for several days, might not become tainted or corrupt. When the process of embalming was finished, the body was carried from the abbot's chamber to the infirmary, and there arrayed in pontificals, the mitre set on the head, gloves drawn over the hands, with a ring on one of the fingers; the staff was placed under the right arm, and the hands were crossed, the feet were covered with sandals, and the body was afterwards carried to the choir of the church for burial.

An account has also been preserved of the burial of John Wodnysburgh, Prior of Christchurch, Canterbury, who died in 1428; from this it appears, that the body after death was thoroughly washed and cleansed, and the beard shaved; it was then entirely new habited in boots, hose, and a cowl, afterwards it was re-clothed in an amice, alb, girdle, dalmatic, sandals, and chesible, and mitred, holding

in one hand a pastoral staff, and thus was placed with the face uncovered in the Prior's Chapel.^a

Claude de la Croix, a French ecclesiastic of the seventeenth century, has given in a work entitled "*Le Parfaict Ecclesiastique*," very minute directions respecting the manner in which the bodies of priests of the Romish Church were to be disposed of after death, and previous to burial. After the usage described by this writer, when a priest died his mouth and eyes were first of all to be closed, and then every thing was to be got ready necessary to clothe the body, as a white sheet, a purple-coloured chesible, a cassock, girdle, black stockings, and new shoes or slippers; then the coffin was to be prepared, and all the sacerdotal ornaments.^b Water, in which a variety of scented herbs, as sage, balm, lavender, &c. had been infused, was prepared, to wash the body. The corpse, having been stripped and washed with all possible decency and reverence, was clad in a white shirt, and dressed at the same time in the cassock, breeches, &c. of the deceased; and having been thus attired in its ordinary and common habiliments, was placed on a board in the midst of the bed of the deceased. It was then arrayed in a surplice without sleeves, over this was the amice, and then the alb, which reached to the shoes, and about which the girdle was fastened. Afterwards the maniple was hung over the left arm, and the stole round

^a "*Mortuo igitur predicto venerabili patre corpus ejus per custodes camere sue ex integro lotum et mundatum est, et barba ejus rasa. Deinde stamino familiari, lotis, caligis, et cuculla ex integro totaliter novus vestitus et indutus est. Postea amictu, albâ, singulo, dalmaticâ, sandaliis et planetâ revestitus, et mitratus, tenens in manu baculum pastorale, in capellâ prioris, sic infulatus, apertâ facie de mane decenter collocatum est, ubi exiquiæ mortuorum et missa de requiem pro eo.*"—Gough's *Sep. Mon.* Vol. I. p. 51.

^b "*Les ornemens sacerdotaux, qui sont six, l'amict, l'aube, la ceinture, le maniple, l'estole, la chasuble.*"—p. 300.

the neck, which was crossed in front of the body, as at mass; and next to that was the chesible. The head was then raised to the same height it would be when placed in the coffin, and covered with a square-shaped cap; the hands were joined together with the fingers strait and close, and a small crucifix was placed within them.

A deacon was to be vested in the dress in which he assisted the priest at the altar; the same practice was to be observed with regard to subdeacons and acolytes.

A bishop was to be arrayed in his pontifical ornaments, and interred with them in the mode that had been observed for many previous centuries.

The custom practised by some of placing a chalice in the hands of a priest was, according to this writer, disapproved of in France.

When the coffin was ready, it was covered both within and on the exterior with white linen, so that the wood could not be seen; and in the bottom of the coffin, towards the middle, some bran was put, to imbibe any noisome matter or moisture that might exude or proceed from the body. The corpse was then placed within this linen in the coffin, and the ornaments were properly disposed, as also the alb, which reached to the shoes, which alone were visible. The head was elevated by pillows in such a manner that it might seem intent upon the cross held in the hands.

According to instructions given in another part of the same work, respecting the interments of priests after the Roman usage, we are informed that they were to be habited in an amice, alb, girdle, and maniple, a stole with crosses, and a purple or violet-coloured chesible; the whole were to be blessed; the face uncovered, and a square cap fixed on the head, and the hands bare and joined together, holding

a small crucifix. The coffin was to be covered with white linen, and the body was placed therein thus,—the head was elevated a little from the body, and the ornaments interred with it; a little linen was placed over the face when it was in the grave, and the cover of the coffin, which was raised and made *en dos d'asne*, was then put on it, and nailed down.

Many stone coffins have of late years been dug up, within the precincts of various cathedral and abbey churches, containing the remains of ecclesiastics, particularly those of episcopal and abbatial rank; and the discoveries thus made have been found to corroborate most fully the statements of Matthew Paris, and other ancient authors, who have described the funeral ceremonies of former days.

In 1821 the nave of the abbey church of Evesham was opened, and the remains of several abbots, recorded to have been buried in the body of the church, discovered in their stone coffins. Amongst these, and against the north wall of the nave, the stone coffin^c was found entire, of Henry of Worcester, one of the abbots, who died November 13th, 1263, and who was buried, according to Habington, against the north wall of the church; and this was the only coffin found in that situation. It was placed lengthways, in contact with the wall, with its head towards the west; a monument had been erected over this abbot, on which was his effigy, carved in stone; on an horizontal fragment of which, remaining in the wall, and which had escaped the general wreck of this fine fabric, was the whole of the carved head of the abbot's crozier, placed on his left side, contrary to the situation of that in the coffin.

^c Vide vignette at the head of this chapter.

The coffin was of one entire stone, and perfect; the lid being strongly cemented. It separated about the middle into two pieces, and on raising it with iron wedges, the body appeared not to have been disturbed since the day of its interment; the skull had sunk forward from the cavity in which it had rested, occasioned by the perishing and consequent falling of the vertebræ of the neck, so that the lower jaw-bone rested on the thorax. The skull was bare, the os frontis on the right side appeared to have been diseased in a considerable degree, a circle of about three inches diameter of the bone being carious, while the rest of the skull retained its natural smooth surface. The folds of a dress or cowl, apparently of silken texture, went round the neck, and descended from the shoulders to the breast. The shroud was wrapped round the body, and the arms were each enveloped in a separate cloth from the body, so that the pastoral staff passed over the os humeri, and under the radius and ulna of the right arm. The left hand crossed the breast at an angle of about forty-five degrees; the hand had held the chalice and paten of pewter, which were found to rest upon the staff



Chalice and Paten.

of the crozier, a little above the right os ischium. The right arm embraced the pastoral staff, crossing the breast at nearly right angles, and the bone of the middle finger of the right hand lay within the abbatial ring, an amethyst set in gold. The pastoral staff lay on the right side, passing diagonally across the right hip and the knees, and extending to the left angle; its carved head was separated at the knob of the staff, and fallen over the top of the right shoulder; the head was elegantly carved in a gothic scroll, and, with its knob beneath at its junction to the staff was

gilt. The bones of the legs above the ancles to just below the knees were enveloped in one piece of leather, a bandage of some light material passed over the ancles, and confined the legs together; there were also bandages of the breadth of a riband, and apparently of silk, which passed over the bones of the arms at the wrist. The paten had been placed on the chalice, but had partly fallen off, as the hand which supported it perished and sunk; one side of the paten, and also of the chalice, which rested upon the body, were decomposed by the moisture; the upper part of each, being supported by the pastoral staff, and not in contact with the body, remained entire. The articles above mentioned, with a part of the dress, being removed, the remains were left undisturbed, and the lid again cemented upon the coffin, and covered up as before.^d

The grave of that excellent and intrepid prelate, Great-head, Bishop of Lincoln, who died in 1253, was opened in the year 1782, and his remains exposed to view. After removing a solid heap of earth and rude stones to the depth of near eighteen inches, the masons struck on the freestone lid of a coffin, in which had been hollowed a cavity for the face, and which not being cemented, was easily removed, and discovered a sheet of lead, raised up over the face, and laid on four loose iron bars, over a freestone coffin, twenty-three inches wide at top, diminishing to eleven inches and a half at bottom, thirteen and three quarters deep, and two and a half thick. In this the body of the prelate had been deposited in pickle, a small quantity of which was remaining under the back, in the middle of the coffin. The corpse was reduced to

^d *Archæologia*, Vol. xx. from the description by Edward Rudge, Esq. F. R. S. A. S. and L. S.

a skeleton; the head reclined to the left shoulder; the under jaw was totally fallen. Under the right side of the head were a chalice and paten of latten, compressed together. The left arm lay across the belly, the right was fallen aside. The marks of the slipper soles were visible against the foot of the coffin. Across the body, from the right shoulder to the left foot, lay the pastoral staff of red wood, the top of which was carved into the rude form of a lamb's head.^e

In digging a grave some years ago near the bishop's throne in Chester Cathedral, a coffin was found with a roof-shaped lid, and within was a leaden coffin, which was opened, and the body appeared to be in fine preservation, and to have been in a liquor or pickle which had an agreeable smell; on the breast was a crucifix, embossed on a piece of vellum. It was supposed to be the body of Abbot Birchelsey, or Lythelles, who died in 1324, and was buried under a gravestone which had his effigy on it in brass, on the south side the choir.^f

In August, 1813, on making a vault within the paling of the altar of Hereford Cathedral, a kind of coffin was discovered about two feet eight inches below the marble flooring, which contained the vestiges of a body almost mouldered to dust, the back part of the scull only remaining entire; on its left side lay a lock of red hair, somewhat curled, and well preserved; a crozier or pastoral staff traversed the body from the right breast to the left foot; a leaden seal or papal bull, with the letters CLE-MENS - P. P. VI. i. e. Pope Clement VI. was attached to it by a silken cord or skein, in perfect preservation. About

^e Gough's Sep. Mon. Vol. II. p. 47.

^f Storer's Cathedrals.

four inches below the top of the staff lay a gold ring, with an amethyst stone in it. The coffin, which was an oblong box seven feet long and about two wide throughout, was composed of oak boards, rough, and about an inch thick, but so uneven as often to vary half an inch. A lid had been laid over it. The rude form and structure of this coffin was singular, and seemed to indicate that it must have been among the early made wooden coffins, as stone ones were much more general till the end of the thirteenth century: it contained the remains of Bishop Trilleck, who died in 1361. §

Two stone coffins were discovered in Chichester Cathedral, in the year 1829, the lids of which, by having the episcopal staff carved on them, denoted a deposit that eventually proved very interesting. Each of these coffins were formed out of one entire stone. The one first opened presented the appearance of a body, which, at the time of its interment, was splendidly decorated in episcopal vestments, with a pastoral staff placed diagonally across it over the right leg, with the crook across the left shoulder; on the left breast was placed a handsome chalice and paten of pewter, and under the right hand, which crossed the centre of the body, was found a gold ring with a black stone, the size and shape of a barley corn.

The second coffin wonderfully eclipsed the first, from the beautiful and once splendid vestments in which the body was enveloped. The skull had left the circular cavity in the stone by sinking forward on the breast, arising from decomposition, and the falling of the bones of the neck which occasioned the inferior jaw-bone to rest on the sternum. There was no appearance of a mitre or

§ Storer's Cathedrals.

dress on the head; but the remains of a cowl were evident, which had been placed round the neck, and extended to the fourth rib; the inner dress or shroud was wound round the body several times, and over it were the episcopal vestments, fringed across the knees and sides of the legs. Below this fringed vestment there also appeared a shirt reaching to the leather shoes, the high heels of which were raised by means of wood inclosed in the leather. The right arm crossed the body on the hip, in order to hold the pastoral staff, which was placed diagonally across the body; its ferule rested at the bottom corner of the coffin, outside the right foot, continuing over the body, and terminating across the left shoulder with a handsome crook of jet fixed to the staff by a gold socket, finely ornamented with a bird and foliage. The paten and chalice found upon the left breast were very perfect, elegant in shape, and the workmanship neat. The paten, six inches in diameter, had an inverted border within an inch of the outside, in the centre of which was engraved a hand, giving the benediction, between a crescent and a star. The episcopal ring was found under the right hand; it contained a highly polished stone, beautifully set in gold. The length of each coffin was seven feet, of the pastoral staff five feet eight inches.^h

In Little Ilford church-yard, at the north door of the church, was found, in 1724, two feet under ground, a stone coffin lid with a plain cross, and six feet below it a body; on the left side of the scull of which was a pewter chalice and paten.ⁱ There is little doubt but that this was the corpse of a priest which was thus buried.

^h Gentleman's Mag. 1829.

ⁱ Gough's Sep. Mon. vol. i. p. 69.

As far as I have been able to ascertain, no mitre, or even the appearance of one, has ever yet been discovered in the stone coffins, containing the remains of bishops; this might, perhaps, happen from the quality of the materials, of which they were composed; for on the opening, at the Revolution, of an abbé's coffin, in the Abbey of St. Germain des Pres, in France, the mitre, *made of silk*, was still existing.^k In the 33d plate of Illustrations from Ancient Designs, to the first volume of Strutt's Horda Angel-cynnann, is engraved the representation of a bishop in his tomb in pontificals, and with a mitre on his head.

The chalice and paten found in coffins are indicative of the priestly calling of the deceased, and were commonly of latén, pewter, or other base metal. After the Reformation, however, they ceased to be buried with the dead, and the rich and gorgeous vestments, both episcopal and sacerdotal, of the Romish Church, as also the croziers and pastoral staffs pertaining to archbishops, bishops, and abbots, were discarded for the more simple ministerial habits and ornaments prescribed by the rubrics of the Reformed Church in the reign of King Edward the Sixth. That the bishops of the Reformed Church still continued, however, to be sometimes buried in their ordinary prelatical vestments, or at least in some of them, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, the instance following will testify.

The body of Thomas Thirlby, Bishop of Ely, who was deprived of his see by Act of Parliament in 1559, and who died in confinement at Lambeth in 1570, was found in the chancel of the parish church there, on making a grave for Archbishop Cornwallis. His leaden coffin appeared to have been never covered with wood, and was six feet four inches long, eighteen inches broad, and eight inches and a half

^k Griffith's Translation of Lenoir's Funeral Monuments, p. 169.

deep. The corpse was wrapped in fine linen, was moist, and had evidently been preserved in some sort of pickle, which still retained a volatile smell, not unlike that of hartshorn. The flesh was preserved, and had the appearance of a mummy; the face was perfect, and the limbs flexible, the beard of a remarkable length, and beautifully white. The linen and woollen garments were all well preserved. The cap, which was of silk, adorned with point lace, had probably been black, but the colour was discharged. It was in fashion like that represented in the pictures of Archbishop Juxon. The hat, a slouched one, with strings to it, which was under the left arm, was of the same materials as are used at present, but the crown was sewed in. It lay by the side of the body, as did the stockings, made of white worsted, with green feet. Great care was taken that every thing was properly replaced in the coffin.¹

The manner in which Dr. Donne, Dean of St. Paul's in the reign of James the First, was buried, may be seen by his monumental effigy in marble, still existing in the crypt beneath St. Paul's Cathedral: he is represented attired for the grave in his winding sheet, in which, tied at his feet and head, he purposely clad himself, as if he were about to be interred, to have the drawing made from which, after his death, this effigy was carved.

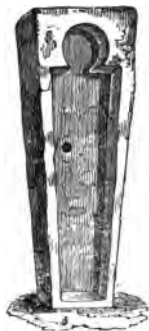
The custom of embalming and preserving the body in cerements seems to have ceased about the latter part of the seventeenth century, when certain laws were made, enjoining a particular mode of enshrouding the dead; for by statutes passed for the encouragement of the woollen trade, in the eighteenth and thirtieth years of the reign of Charles the Second, "It was enacted, that no person whatsoever

¹ Gough's Sep. Mon. vol. i. p. 54.

should be buried in any shirt, shift, or sheet, made of or mingled with flax, hemp, silk, hair, gold or silver, or other than what should be made of wool only; or be put into any coffin lined or faced with any thing made of or mingled with flax, hemp, silk, or hair, upon pain of the forfeiture of the sum of five pounds." From that period until of late, for those statutes have only been recently repealed,^m the dead have uniformly been buried in woollen, in accordance with the legislative injunctions.ⁿ

^m By Stat. 54 Geo. III. c. 108.

ⁿ In the Parish Register of Shustock Church, Warwickshire, the following entry occurs,—“ 1685, february the 12th, Sr William Dugdale, Knt of Blyth Hall, buried in woollen, vid. affidavit.”



Stone Coffin, in Wellesbourne Church-yard, Warwickshire.



Representation of a Burial in the Thirteenth Century.

From a drawing by Matthew Paris.

CHAPTER V.

ON THE FUNERAL SOLEMNITIES OF THE MIDDLE AGES.

WHEN we attribute to the mission of Augustine the propagation of Christianity in this island, we do not from thence infer that during the six previous centuries no tidings of the gospel had reached our shores; for we have undoubted testimony^o that from the second century, and perhaps even from an earlier period, there was in Britain a Christian community, but that no general conversion had taken place, or regular hierarchy been established, which had any material influence towards abolishing the idolatrous practices of Paganism, until the dawn of the seventh century.

• Tertullian, adv. Judæos, c. vii.

From that period till about the middle of the eighth century, the Anglo-Saxon Christians were accustomed to inter their dead in the open fields, no burials within the precincts of towns being allowed: and even Augustine, who died A. D. 611, was buried outside of the city of Canterbury, near the church of St. Peter and St. Paul, then unfinished; but, on the dedication of that church, his body was removed, and deposited in the north porch, where the five succeeding archbishops were also buried; Theodosius, the seventh archbishop, who died A. D. 690, being the first that obtained burial in the church itself,—the porch not being large enough to contain more bodies.^p It was not till Cuthbert, eleventh archbishop of Canterbury, obtained (A. D. 752) permission from the Pope to allow cemeteries to be contiguous to those churches which were erected within the walls of cities, that the general appropriation of churchyards, or burial places adjoining churches, was made.

In the ordinary funerals of the Anglo-Saxons, the body, enveloped in linen, was carried to the grave by two persons, one supporting the head, the other the feet; the priest then censed it, and, whilst the bearers were depositing it in the grave, uttered over it certain accustomed prayers, with benedictions. A little more ceremony was observed at the exequies of persons of note, and hymns were sung by the attendant priests, who accompanied the body in procession.

In the ages subsequent to the Norman invasion, the church of Rome having impressed on the minds of the laity a firm belief in the doctrine of the purgation of the soul in a future state, taught them also that the fiery pains occasioned thereby might be mitigated, or partly remitted, through the medium of masses and other services performed after death for the repose of the soul of the deceased, and which might be obtained by donations to the church.

^p Bede. Eccl. Hist. Lib. ii. c. iii.

These doctrines, inculcated by a hierarchy esteemed as infallible by the greater part of its votaries, occasioned, as might be expected, no little anxiety amongst all classes, especially as the hour of death approached, to ensure the future welfare of their souls; and the rich and powerful, who were as deeply imbued as others with the superstitious notions of those ages, were gladly persuaded to purchase a fancied atonement and remission of their offences, by bequeathing a part of the possessions they could no longer retain, to the church, for religious purposes.

In accordance also with the conceived opinions of the times, it became customary for the noble and wealthy to bequeath their bodies to be buried in some particular monastery or church; and these bequests were accompanied by gifts of land, money, jewels, or other valuable articles, in order that masses might be sung for the more speedy deliverance of the testator's soul from purgatory.^q

Thus it was that the religious houses were so wonderfully enriched,^r "for in regard of burial," says Weever, "abbeyes were most commonly preferred before other churches whatsoever, and he that was buried therein in a friars habite, if you will beleeeve it, never came into hell."

^q There is a passage in Bede, in which, after describing the state of souls in purgatory, which would be redeemed at the day of judgment, he observes, "*Multos autem preces viventium et eleemosynem, et ieiunia, et maxime celebratio missarum, ut etiam ante diem iudicii liberentur adjuvant.*"—*Eccles. Hist. Lib. v. c. xlii.*—But Matthew Paris is even more explicit on this point: "*Per missas vero, psalmos eleemosynas et orationes ecclesie generalis, et per specialia amicorum auxilia, aut Purgandorum tormenta mitigantur aut de ipsis suppliciis ad minora transferuntur donec penitus liberentur.*"—*Hist. Angl. Ed. Watts, p. 76.*

^r In the *Vision of Piers Plowman*, written in the fourteenth century, the religious orders are satirically exposed for their neglect of the poor, whilst for gain's sake they were constant attendants at the funerals of the rich:—

"Freers folowed folke that wer riche,
 "And folke that wer pore at litle price they set.
 "And no cors in hir kyrkeyard nor kyrke was buried
 "But quik he bequeth hem ough, or quit part of his deta."

And not only the church, but the very spot where the testator wished his body to be interred, was often specified in his will; and even the solemnities to be performed at the funeral, and number of lights to be burnt, were minutely enumerated.

Hence the funeral ceremonies observed in the ages preceding the Reformation, varied as much in the religious services performed, as they did afterwards in pomp and splendour, according to the rank and wealth of the deceased. From an ancient manuscript ritual, in which the burial service is contained,³ it appears that before the body was

³ Penes Auc.—I have transcribed the rubric at length, as here subjoined:—"Sciendum est quod quodcumque deportatur corpus ad ecclesiam in cimiterio humandum. In primum aspergatur aqua benedicta super corpus exanime, et interim dicitur psalmum 'De profundis,' cum orationibus 'Inclina' et 'Fidelium.' Cum vero corpus defuncti deportatur ad ecclesiam dicitur hæc antiphona 'Subvenite,' versum 'Suscipiat te Christus' Repetatur antiphona. Deinde dicitur psalmum 'De profundis,' et post unumquemque versum repetatur antiphona, si necesse fuit. Postea dicitur psalmum 'In exitu,' ordine superdicta In introitu cimiterii incipiatur rogatio 'Libera me, Domine, de morte,' et dicitur cum uno versu 'Dies illa.' Ad introitum etiam cimiterii aspergatur corpus aqua benedicta. Nunquam enim portatur corpus alicujus defuncti circa cimiterium, sed directe in ecclesiam. In introitu ecclesie dicitur antiphona 'In paradisum,' et cantetur versus 'Requiem eternam' Repetatur antiphona. Sequatur 'Kyrie eleison.' 'Christe eleison.' 'Kyrie eleison.' Tunc sacerdos aspergit corpus aqua benedicta et thurificet rogans orare sic: 'Pro anima N. et pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum,' 'Pater noster,' 'Et ne nos,' 'A porta,' 'Non intres,' 'Dominus vobiscum,' oratio, 'Suscipe, Domine,' et cet. sicut habetur in manuali usque ad finem, cum hæc addicione, 'Anima ejus et anime omnium fidelium defunctorum per Dei misericordiam requiescant in pace. Amen.' Statim eat sacerdos ad signandum locum ubi sepeliendus fuit mortuus, et signo crucis signet locum, et postea aspergatur aqua benedicta. Deinde accipiat fossarum vel aliquid instrumentum et aperiat terram in modum crucis ad formam corporis defuncti, dicens 'aperite in portas justicie ingressus in eas, confitebor domino, hec porta domini justi intrabunt in eam.' Quibus dictis dicitur ingressio mortuorum et postea completorium de die more solito. Ubi vero in die sepulture portatur corpus ad ecclesiam, tunc immediate post predictam orationem, 'Suscipe Domine,' dicitur, commendacio animarum solemnitur hoc modo, Antiphona 'Requiem eternam,' psalmum 'Beati immaculati' usque 'ad dominum cum tribu.' Finitur psalmus cum predicta antiphona. Sequitur 'Kyrie eleison.' 'Christe eleison.' 'Kyrie eleison.' 'Pater noster,' deinde sine pronunciacione 'et ne nos,' dicitur psalmus 'Dominus propasti,' sive non et cet. Quo finito statim incipiatur missa pro defunctis."

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carried out to be buried, it was sprinkled with holy water, and the 129th psalm, "*De profundis*," was sung, with the prayers beginning with *Inclina*, and *Fidelium*. And, whilst it was being carried to the church, the "*De profundis*" was again sung, together with the 113th psalm, beginning *In exitu*. At the entrance of the burial ground the body was again sprinkled with holy water, certain psalms or hymns were sung or said, and it was then carried into the church. At the church porch the service commenced with the anthem "*In paradisum*," and then the "*Requiem eternam*" was sung; after which followed the "*Kyrie eleison*," &c. and the officiating priest again sprinkled the body with holy water, and censed it, uttering the prayers following: "*Pro anima N. et pro animabus omnium fidelium defunctorum—Pater noster—Et ne nos—A porta inferi—Non intres—Dominus vobiscum—Suscipe Dominus*," and so on to the close of the office, as laid down in the manual, with this additional prayer, "*Anima ejus et animæ omnium fidelium defunctorum per Dei misericordiam requiescant in pace. Amen.*" This being done, the priest proceeded to mark the spot where the body was finally to be deposited with the sign of the cross, and to sprinkle it with holy water; and after several other prayers and anthems, the service concluded with the office of the mass for the dead.

During these ceremonies the body, properly dressed or shrouded, if not enclosed in lead or wood, was anciently laid out on a bier, and thus carried to the grave, where the coffin, if of stone, was already conveyed, and lowered to receive it, and into which it was then carefully deposited, and the lid placed over it: and Stow, in speaking of the funeral of the Conqueror, says, "Now mass being ended, the masons had prepared the stone chest or coffin in the

earth, while the body had remained on the bier, in order as it had been brought forth." But in most cases the body, merely shrouded, was carried openly on a bier to the grave, where it was interred without any coffin.



John Rouse, the Warwickshire Antiquary, in his life of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who died in the reign of Henry the Sixth, has depicted his funeral at the period the coffin is being placed in the tomb, and of which the vignette above is a representation. The chest or outer coffin of wood, which is in the shape of a parallelogram, is covered with a white cross, and two persons in long coats or gowns, the common dress of the fifteenth century, are lowering the coffin. A Bishop, or ecclesiastic of abbatial

rank, in his alb, stole, and cope, with the mitre on his head, is in the act of performing the last aspersion over the coffin; on one side appears one of his assistants bearing the pastoral staff, and on the other one holding the manual; behind are attendants in long gowns and hoods, bearing torches. The original drawing by John Rouse, which contains more figures than represented in the vignette, has been engraved by Strutt.

An ancient painting^t on the wall of St. Mary's Chapel, Winchester Cathedral, represents the funeral of a nun, whose body, clothed in a religious habit, appears laid out on a bier, set down by the side of her grave; but there is no sign of any coffin. Priests are performing the service, and the cross bearer, or acolyte, is standing behind them, where also certain nuns appear, attending as mourners.

In an old French work, Croix's *Le Parfaict Ecclesiastique*," full directions are given for the performance of the ceremonial rites of priests of the Romish Church, as practised in the seventeenth century, from which the following particulars are selected:—

"The corpse having been properly shrouded, the bells were rung, that all who heard might pray to God for the repose of the soul of the deceased; the body was then laid out on the bed, and at the feet was set a low table, covered with a white cloth, on which a cross, two black candlesticks, two tapers of yellow wax, an holy water pot (*un eau benitier*) with holy water, a sprinkler, and two manuals, were placed, with a seat on each side. Two ecclesiastics, having first sprinkled holy water over the body, then began to recite the office for the dead, singing alternately in a low voice; and this office was continued until the corpse was carried out for interment.

^t Engraved in Carter's *Antiquities*, vide vignette at the end of the chapter.

"Each ecclesiastic was carried to the grave by those who held the same rank in the church as himself, as priests by priests, deacons by deacons, subdeacons by subdeacons, and so on.^u Those of superior were not allowed to carry the clergy of inferior degree; nor were the clergy ever permitted to carry the bodies of the laity. The feet were carried first; and when the body was set down in the church, the feet were turned towards the door. When torches were used, they were borne by the junior ecclesiastics. The coffin having been placed in the choir, with the feet turned towards the door, the service for the dead then commenced; at a proper period the oblations were carried to the altar, and mass performed; after which, the officiating priest divested himself of his chesible and maniple, and put on a cope; and, after several incensements and aspersions, the body was carried in procession to the place of sepulture, preceded by the cross and clergy. When they arrived at the grave, and the prayers were finished, the body was let down, and those who carried it descended into the grave in a reverent and orderly manner, and then covered the face of the defunct, disposed the sacerdotal ornaments in a decent manner, crossed the hands over the breast, and, lastly, nailed the lid to the coffin; this being done, the priest who officiated cast earth thrice upon the coffin, saying, "*De terra plastamasti me,*" &c. and then those who had carried the body proceeded to fill up the grave.

But even after burial a variety of services, as masses satisfactory, obits, requiems, trentals, and anniversaries, continued to be performed daily, monthly, yearly, or

^u Durand speaks also of this practice:—"¶Debet autem defunctus portari a consimilibus sue professionis, ut si fuerit dyaconus a dyaconibus, si sacerdos a sacerdotibus, clericus a clericis, catholicus a catholicis. Si vero fuerit de aliqua fraternitate, deportetur ab illis qui sunt ejusdem fraternitatis."—Rat. Div. Off.

otherwise, according to the wishes of the deceased; and the provision made by him or his friends, for these offices, contributing much, as it was supposed, to the ease of the disembodied soul, were commonly performed by a priest, specially appointed for that purpose; and hence arose a custom very prevalent during the fourteenth and following century, of endowing chantries for the maintenance of one or more priests, for the express purpose of celebrating masses, and performing other offices for the good estate of the soul of the founder, and of the souls of his family and friends; and the founder was commonly buried near the altar in the aisle where the chantry was founded, or in a chapel built expressly for that purpose.

And here, as in many other points, we can trace in retrospect a gradual yet very perceptible change in the usages of the church in different ages: for in the twelfth century, when so many of the monastic institutions in this country were founded, the early grants were defined to be generally for the health of the soul of the founder or donor, or of him and his wife, his ancestors and his heirs, and sometimes even for the souls of all his friends; and no stated number of masses were appointed to be said, nor was even any specific mention made of such; but in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when by the operation of the laws for restraining the further alienation of lands to the church, eleemosynary foundations on a large scale were discouraged, an immense number of chantry chapels were founded, licenses having been obtained, which were sometimes so richly endowed, that masses for the dead, and other services, were to be daily celebrated therein for ever; and many persons, who were unable to found chantries, bequeathed sums of money for a priest to celebrate a certain number of masses, or to

officiate at mass during a limited period of time after their decease, for the gradual remission of their sins, and deliverance of their souls from the torments of purgatory.

Of the chantry chapels thus founded, many were formed at the east end of the north and south aisles of our churches, and, in the fifteenth century, were inclosed by an ornamental screen of open tabernacle work, like that beneath the rood loft which separated the chancel from the nave; but these screens have rarely been preserved; and the only indications of these chapels now generally to be met with, is the piscina in the south wall, and sometimes a bracket projecting from the east wall, on which a taper or lamp was kept burning. To some churches, transepts, or additional side-aisles, were added, expressly erected for chantry chapels, and endowed as such; and these have commonly the piscina remaining. In each of these chapels, at the east end, was an altar of stone, at which the priest, attended by an acolyte, officiated; but vestiges of these will seldom be found to exist, as all the Romish altars, at the Reformation, were ordered to be destroyed. The irregularity, and apparent want of uniformity, so observable in our churches, is thus plainly accounted for; parts distinct from the original building having been subjoined thereto at different periods for chantries.

The exequies of the nobility and eminent personages were conducted with great magnificence and solemnity, especially in the fifteenth and following century; and they sometimes lasted several days. The coffin was usually covered with a sumptuous pall of black cloth or velvet, garnished with escocheons, with a white cross; it was then carried with great pomp under a canopy, borne according to the rank of the deceased, by knights, esquires, or gentlemen, and placed in the choir beneath a hearse,

richly decorated with banners, banner-rolls, escocheons, pennons, pencils, and other paraphernalia. At these obsequies, likewise, wax lights and tapers of a great size were placed round about the coffin, and upon the hearse; torches also were much used in funeral processions; "To have a great many," says Strutt, "was a special mark of esteem in the person who made the funeral to the deceased; and it was very usual for wealthy individuals to order in their wills a certain number of torches, wax lights or tapers, and mortars of a certain weight, to be placed about the body and hearse at the burial."

"The funeral of John Islip, Abbot of Westminster, who died on the 12th of May, 1532, was performed in this manner. His corpse was first chested and cered, and so remained in a large parlour hung with black cloth, garnished with escocheons of his arms and the monastery; the corpse was covered with a rich pall of cloth of gold of tissue, and four great tapers were placed about it, burning day and night, with daily masses and nightly watches, until the 16th of May, when it was conveyed unto the monastery of Westminster in the following manner: first, two conductors with black staffs, then the cross, then a number of priests, friars, monks, and other religious persons, after whom came the Abbot of Bury, in pontificalibus, with his assistance in goodly rich copes, then gentlemen in black gowns and hoods, two and two, then two heralds; the corpse was then borne by six of his yeomen in black coats, six others going by to help them as they had need; about the herse were four assistance, and at each corner a banner, borne by men in black hoods and gowns. Two branches of white wax were borne by two clerks in their surplices, and before the corpse were twenty-four poor men in gowns and hoods

in one range, bearing twenty-four torches; about the corpse also were twelve staff torches, borne by twelve yeoman in black coats. Then came the chief mourner, alone, followed by others, two and two, habited in long gowns and hoods. At the entry of the monastery the Abbot of Bury, with his assistance, received the corpse, and so proceeded into the choir, where it was set under a goodly herse, with many lights and matie and vallunce, set with pencils, and double banners, with forms hanged with black cloth, and garnished with scotcheons of arms, and the choir likewise, and so the mourners took their places. Then '*dirige*' began, solemnly sung by the said monastery, and divers '*diriges*' done in other parts of the church, which being done, with the other ceremonies, the mourners departed into a place over the chapel of the defunct, where refreshments and wine were prepared, and in the mean season, they of the church did bury the defunct in the said chapel of his building, which was hung with black cloth, and garnished with scotcheons, and over his sepulture a pall of black velvet, and two candlesticks, with angels of silver and gilt, with two tapers thereon, and four about the herse, burning still. Then in the choir, underneath the herse, was made a presentation of the corpse, covered with a cloth of gold of tyshew, with a cross, and two white branches in candlesticks of silver and gilt, which being done, every man departed for that night. The next day every man did repair to the church, and all took their places as before. Then began the first mass of our lady, sung solemnly with deacon and sub-deacon, and at the offertory the chief mourner offered a piece of gold of ii^s. vi^d. assisted with the other mourners, which being done, the mass of the twenty song began, set in like manner as afore; but at the offering, the chief

mourner offered a piece of gold of 5^s. assisted as afore, which being finished, the mourners went to the manor place, where was prepared for them meat and drink, and then every man returned to the church to their appointed places, and the torches and other lights being lighted, the mass of requiem began, sung by the Abbot of Bury, in pontificalibus, with deacon and subdeacon, and at the offertory the monks offered their oblation after the custom and manner. Then offered the chief mourner a noble in gold, being conducted by the officers at arms, and assisted with the other mourners; and so returned back again to the herse. Then all the mourners offered for themselves every one a groat. Then began the sermon by the Vicar of Croydon, then all the other ceremonies being done and finished, there began a great doyle given among the poor; then all things being finished, every man took his leave, and so departed. Then the banners were set in order in the said chapel, in braces of iron, and the herse, with all other things, did remain there still until the month's mynde."v

In the *Vetusta Monumenta*, a representation of the funeral of this abbot is engraved. The coffin appears in the choir before the high altar, and on it is a pall, with a large white cross, on which a candlestick and taper is set. Over it is the herse, on the upper part of which are fixed numerous branches of tapers decorated with pencils; this is surrounded by a number of poor men in gowns and hoods, bearing long staff torches; at each corner of the hearse is a banner borne by a man in a hood and cloak, and at the one end of the coffin are three mourners muffled up in hooded cloaks.

v This account is abridged from a more detailed one published in Ackermann's *Westminster Abbey*, Vol. I. p. 308.

The testamentary directions given by distinguished as well as private individuals, concerning the manner of their burial, are of great service in elucidating the funeral solemnities observed before the Reformation, as the following instances will shew:—

“Sir John Montacute, Knight, brother to the Earl of Sarum, by his will dated March 20th, 1388, gave his body to be buried in the Cathedral Church of Salisbury, between the two pillars, but desired that if he died in London his body might be buried in St. Paul’s, near to the font wherein he was baptized. He willed that a black cloth of woollen be laid over his body, and about his hearse, and to cover the ground, and upon his burial day that there should be five tapers, each weighing twenty pounds, placed about his hearse, and four mortars, each of ten pound weight. He also desired that twenty-four poor men, cloathed in white or russet, should carry each a torch, and that no painting should be about his hearse, excepting one banner of the arms of England, and two with the arms of Monthermer, placed by the five tapers.”^w

“Margaret Beauchamp, Countess of Warwick, by her will, dated 28th of November, 1406, gave her body to be buried in the Collegiate Church of Warwick, and willed that at her burial there should be five tapers, containing five pounds of wax, burning about her corpse from the beginning of service on the eve before her funeral, till the high mass of requiem on the morrow after; and at the same time, that there should be twenty torches held burning, by twenty poor men, about her hearse, and which were afterwards to remain for the high altar, and other

^w Nicholas’ *Testamenta Vetusta*, Vol. I. p. 124. This work contains, throughout, a mass of valuable information on this subject.

altars of the church, for the honor of God, according to ancient custom and right." ^x

"Sir William Bonville, Knight, by his will dated in 1407, gave his body to be buried before the high cross in the church of Nywenham, in the county of Devon, to which church he gave xl^l. for license for himself and his wives to be buried therein, and also to pray for his soul." ^y

"Elizabeth, Lady Despencer, by her will dated July 4th, 1409, desired that she might be buried within three days after her decease, and that a black cloth, with a white cross, might be laid over her body, with five tapers about it, and no more, during the office of burial." ^z

In the will of Thomas, Earl of Arundel, dated in 1415, the following item occurs: "For the charges of my funeral, and to celebrate masses for my soul, cxxx^l. vi^s. viii^d." ^a

"Thomas de Ralegh, of Astley, in the county of Warwick, in the sixth year of the reign of Henry the Fourth, bequeathed his body to sepulture in the quire of the Collegiate Church of Astley, to which church he gave xl^l. of silver, to the end that his obit should be perpetually there observed, and his name written in the martyrologe; he also gave xiii^l. xiii^s. iii^d. for the providing of one priest, to celebrate divine service there for his soul, for the space of three years after his decease." ^b

At royal funerals a custom anciently existed of clothing the body of the deceased in regal attire, and thus carrying it forth in state to be buried, exposed to the view of the people. In this manner the body of Henry the Second, who died in 1189, was carried forth to be buried in the Abbey of

^x Nicholas' Test. Vet. p. 169.

^y Ibid. p. 170.

^z Ibid. p. 174.

^a Ibid. p. 186.

^b Dugdale's Antiq. Warw.

Font Eurand, in Anjou, "clothed in royal robes, having a crown of gold upon his head, and gloves on his hands; boots of interwoven gold upon his legs, and spurs upon his heels; a great ring upon his finger, his sceptre in his hand, his sword girt to his side, and his face uncovered, and all bare."^c The body of Edward the First, who died in 1307, was likewise arrayed in robes of royalty for burial. But early in the fifteenth century, if not before, this custom was discontinued, and it then became the usage at a royal funeral to exhibit an effigy of the deceased, dressed in robes of state, with a crown, sceptre, and ball, which was placed above the coffin or hearse. The first English monarch we find mentioned represented in effigy, was Henry the Fifth, who died in 1422, "at whose funeral above the corpse," says Sandford, "was a figure made of boyled hides or leather, representing his person, and painted to the life; upon the head was set an imperial crown of gold and precious stones, on the body a purple robe furred with ermine, in the right hand a sceptre, and in the left a ball of gold, with a cross fixed thereon." In like manner also, on the burial of Edward the Fourth, who died in 1483, "in the hearse in Westminster Abbey above the corpse, which was covered with a large black cloth of gold with a cross of cloth of silver, was a personage like to the similitude of a king, in habit royal, with a crown on his head, holding in one hand a sceptre, and in the other hand a ball of silver gilt, with a cross patee." At the funeral of Henry the Seventh, 1485, on the coffin which contained the body was placed, until the body was interred, "a picture resembling his person, crowned, and richly apparreled in his parliament roobe, bearing in his right hand a sceptre, and in his left hand a ball of gold."^d

^c Matt. Paris.

^d A detailed account of this monarch's funeral, from a MS. in the Harleian Library, is published in Leland's *Collectanea*, Vol. IV. p. 303.

This custom was not altogether discontinued until after the Restoration; for when the funeral of the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, took place, an effigy was made to represent him lying in state.^e

Of the after place of destination for these effigies, on the completion of the funeral obsequies, we are informed from what occurred at the interment of Queen Mary, which took place in Westminster Abbey; for we read that just before the coffin was taken from the hearse to be carried to the chapel wherein she was entombed, "thier came vi knyghtes and toke the *presentation* with great reverence, and bare the same into the vestery."^f

The costly funeral pageants by which the dignity of the nobility and gentry was formerly considered to be, in no slight degree, upheld, continued to increase in magnificence from the fourteenth to the seventeenth century; and in the reign of Elizabeth it formed no small part of the business of the heralds to marshal the funeral processions,^g not only of public, but also of private individuals. At this period also, the funeral achievement of the deceased, his helme and crest, sword and spurs, target, coat of arms, and banner, were often affixed over his tomb; but, after the civil wars,

^e A very full account of this splendid funeral appears in Noble's *Life of Cromwell*.

^f Carter, in his *Remarks on Westminster Abbey*, published in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for September, 1790, mentions the remains of some of these effigies, composed of leather and wood, to have been there kept in Lelip's Chapel. From their dilapidated state they were called the Ragged Regiment.

^g On the death of Queen Mary, in 1558, the Archbishop of York, the Marquis of Winchester, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Westmoreland, and others, "were appoynted to set apd take ordre for the funeral; whoo havinge commission to do the same, sent for Garter princypall king of armes, for to understand the ordre and what was to be don, who declared unto them in all poyntes the ordre and what was to be don therein." A very long and detailed account of this funeral, published from the original manuscript, appears in the appendix to the fifth volume of Leland's *Collectanea*, published in 1774.

this custom fell into disuse, and may now be only partially discerned in the hatchments which are still sometimes fastened against the wall of a church, but more frequently in front of the house of one newly deceased.

"The manner of burienge great persons in ancient tymes" is thus treated of in a MS. supposed to have been written in the reign of Henry the Seventh:^a

"This is the ordinaunce and guyding that perteyneth unto the worshipfull beryng of ony astate to be done in manner and fourme ensewing.

"First to be offered a swherde by the moste worshipfull man of the kyn of the said astate, and ony be presente ellis by the moste worshipfull man that is present there on his pte.

"Item, in lyke wyse his shelde, his cote of worship, his helme and creste.

"Item, to be hadde a baner of the Trinite, a baner of our Lady, a baner of Seynte George, a baner of the Seynte that was his advowre, and a baner of his armes. Item, a penon of his armes. Item, a standard, and his creste thereinne.

"Item, a geton of his devise, with his worde.

"Item, a doubill valaunce aboute the herse both above and bynethe, with his word and his devise wreten there inne.

"Item, xii scochons of his armes to be sette uppon the barres w^toute and withinne the herse, and iii dozen penselles to stand aboven upon the herse among the lytes.

"Item, to be ordeyned as many scochons as be pilers in the church, and scochons to be sette in the four quarters of the said church as best is to be sette by discretion.

"Item, as many torches as the said astate was of

^a Archaeologia, Vol. I.

yeares age, and in ev'ry torche a scochon hangyng. And the beerers of the torches in blac.

"Item, hit is to be ordeyned standyng v officers of armes abowte the said hers, that is to say oone byfore the said herse beryng the cote of worship and he standyng at the hede in the mydwarde of the said hers, the secunde standyng on the right side of the herse in the fore frunte beryng his swhirde, the thirde standyng on the lifte side of the sayde hers beryng his helmet and crest, the fourth on the right side of the saide hers on the nether part of the herse beryng his baner of armes, and the vth standyng on the lifte side in the nether parte he beryng his penon, so standyng till the offeryng. And the baners of the Trinite, owre Lady, Seynt George, and the baner of his advowre to be set above in iiii partes of the said hers, and his standard also.

"Item, to be ordeyned certeyn clothes of gold for the ladyes of his k'yn beyng w'tynne the said hers, and they to ofere the said clothes of gold.

"Item, a certeyn of innocentes all clothed in white, ev'ry innocent beryng a taper in his hande.

"Item, the hors of the said astate trapped with his armes, and a man of armes beyng of his kyn upon the same hors, or ellis any other man of worshipp in his name, havyng in his hande a spere, swhirde, or axe, so to be presented to the offeryng in the churche with ii worshipfull men, oon goyng on yat eon side of the hors, and yat other on that other side of the hors, and a man ledyng the same hors.

"Item, the heire of the said astate, after he hathe ofered shall stand up'on the lifte side of the priste receyvving the offeryng of the swherde, helme and creste, baner of armes, cote of worshipp, and penon. It'm, ii men of worship to

stonde on the same side of the priste, holdyng a basyn w^t mony therinne for the offeryng."

In another MS.¹ written early in the reign of Henry the Eighth, touching the ceremony of a funeral, the "Thinges necessary to be had at the Enterment of a Knight" are thus enumerated:—

"First, a Representation of his bodye covered wyth blacke clothe, with a white crosse of sattyn damaske or lynen clothe.

"Item, Fourmes and rayles covered with black clothe, and garnished with scochons of hys armes.

"Item, Four braunches or a herse garnyshed with pen-celles.

"Item, To have three masses, one of the Trenyte, one of our Ladye, one of Requiem.

"Item, a Doctor to make a sermon, and five men mourgners to offer his hatchments as knightes in black gowns and hoodes.

"Item, Twelve staff tourches bourne by twelve yeomen in black cotes.

"Item, Six braces of iron for his hatchmente."

Amongst the records preserved in the Chapter House, Westminster, is an original minute of council,² detailing the preparations to be made for the ceremonial of the funeral of Catherine, the divorced wife of King Henry the Eighth, who died at Kimbolton Castle, Huntingdonshire, in 1535-6, and was buried at Peterborough Cathedral. According³ to these instructions, "the corps was to be boweled, sered, tramayled, leded and chested with spices and other things thereunto appertayning. A herce with v principalles, and lights accordingly, was to be set in the church where the body re-

¹ Published in the first volume of the *Archæologia*.

² Printed at length in the 16th Vol. of the *Archæologia*, p. 23.

remained until the removing. A more sumptuous herce with ix principalls, and lights accordingly, was to be set in the church or monastery where the corps was to be buried, this was to have duple barriers, the yuner for the ladyes and the utter for the lordes. The corps was to be watched nightly during the time it remained unburied, and branches of white virgin wax were to be set every night at dirige and every morning at masse upon the corps. A charet was to be provided to convey the corps from the chapel where it should first rest to the place where it was to be buried; the corps was to be covered with a pall of black riche cloth of gold, divided with a crosse of white cloth of gold, and upon the same a cast or puffed ymage of a princesse apparailled in her robes of estate, with a cronall upon her hed in her hearc, with rings, gloves, and juells upon her hands. The charet was to be framed like a canopye, four square, covered with black velvet, and drawn by vi horses, trapped in black velvet. The chief mourner on horseback, her horse trapped in black velvet was to folowe immediately after the corps, and after her eight ladyes on palfreys trapped in black cloth; they to ride in their mantels and sloppes, after them 2 charets were to folowe full of ladyes. Staff torches and long torches were to be borne in great towns through which the body should pass, the bearers whereof were to have gowns and hodes. Palles of cloth of gold of Baudekyn were to be provided for the offering. Banners and banner rolls were to be provided, to be borne at the corners of the charet, and banner rolls and pensells for the garnishing of the herse, also a magistye and a valence, and eight hachements of black sarcinet wrought in gold, the valence to be frynged with black silk and gold. Liveryes of cloth were to be provided for the mantells, sloppes, and gowns of the mourner, and these varied in quantity and quality according to the rank of the mourners."

The change in the funeral service which took place on the Reformation, and before the present Burial Office of the Reformed Church of England was set forth, appears by the ceremonies performed at the interment of Catherine Parr, Dowager Queen of Henry the Eighth, who died at Sudley Castle, in Gloucestershire, on the 5th of September, 1541, and was buried in the chapel of that castle. In an account of her burial, preserved in a MS. book belonging to the College of Arms, is contained a statement of the provision made in the chapel for her interment, and of the funeral service as then used, as follows:—

“Item, hit (the chapel) was hangid wth blacke clothe garnishid wth schoocheons of maryagys. vidz. Kinge Henrye theight & her in pale undre the crowne, her owne in lozenge undre the crowne, allso tharmes of the lord Admyrall and hers in pale wthout crowne.

“Item, Rayles covrd wth blacke clothe for the mourners to sytt in wth stooles and cussheons accordingle, wthowt eyther hersse mat^{ie} & vallence or tapres, savinge ij tapres wheron were ij schoocheons w^{ch} stode uppon the corps duringe the servyce.

“The Mann^r of the Service in the Churche:

“Item, when the corps was sett wth in the rayles and the mourners placid, the hole Quere began & songe certen Salmes in Englishe & reade ij lessons, and after the ij^{de} lesson the mourners accordinge to theyre degrees & as yt ys accustomyd offerid into the almes boxe. And when they hadde don, all other as Gentlemen or Gentlewomen that wolde.

“The offeringe don Doctor Covrddall the Quenes Almner began his Sermonde, w^{ch} was verie good and godlie. And in one place therof he took occasion to declare unto the people, howe that thir shulle none there thinke seye nor spreade abroad that the offeringe w^{ch} was there don was

don anye thinge to p^rffytt the deade but ffor the poore onlye. And also the lights w^{ch} were carried and stode abowte the corps were ffor the honour of the parsson & for none other entents nor purpose, And so went thorowghe wth hys Sermonde, & made a godlye prayer. And thole churche aunswered and praied the same wth hym in thende.

“The Sermonde don the corps was buried duringe w^{ch} tyme the Quere songe Te Deum in Englishe. And thus after Dinn^r the mourners and the rest that wolde returned homewarde agayne, all w^{ch} aforeseid was don in amornyng.”

The hearse, we often find mentioned in ancient wills and in funeral directions, was not a carriage like that in use at the present day for the conveyance of the corpse from a distance, but appears to have been a framework of timber, covered with black cloth, and which at certain funerals was set up for a time in the choir, purposely for the reception of the body during the service: it was surrounded with rails, and sometimes richly fringed and ornamented. That under which the body of Edward, Earl of Derby, who died in 1574, was placed before its final commitment to the grave, is described as being “a stately hearse erected of five principals, 30 feet in height, 12 in length, and 9 in breadth, double railed, all garnished in the order and manner following: first, the top part and rails covered with black cloth, the vallance and principals covered with velvet, to the vallance a fringe of silk, the majesty being of taffata, lined with buckram, had thereon, most curiously wrought in gold and silver, the achievements of his arms, with helm, crest, supporters, and motto; and four other buckram escocheons in metal, the top garnished with escocheons and pencils in metal, six great burial paste escocheons at the four corners, and at the uttermost top the vallance set forth with small escocheons of his arms on buckram, in metal within the

garter; the rails and posts also garnished with escocheons wrought in gold and silver on paper royal." ^k

Hearses of this description were not, I conceive, introduced earlier than the fourteenth century; and they continued to be used till the civil wars of the seventeenth century.

It was formerly the custom, at the funeral of any great person, to have his courser led and armour borne before his corpse, and the courser was afterwards claimed and retained as a mortuary due to the church in which the obsequies were performed; but the armour was either reserved for the next of kin, or else was hung up in the church.

The mortuary was the Saxon 'japljceat,' or cors presente, so called, according to Lyndwood, because it was a gift left to the church for the benefit of the soul of the deceased, and generally consisted of his second best horse, though sometimes of some other beast or chattel. This gift, which appears to have been originally uncertain in its nature, was afterwards considered and claimed as a right and due by custom, and in the reign of Henry the Eighth was converted by statute into a money payment; but in the rage for splendid funerals which then and afterwards prevailed, the horse and armour of the deceased still continued to occupy a principal place in the procession.

Such was probably the origin of this custom: it is perhaps somewhat more difficult to trace it to its first occurrence; although so early as the thirteenth century it does not seem to have been unusual.

William de Beauchamp, (the father of the first Earl of Warwick of that family) who died in the latter part of the thirteenth century, (52d Henry III.) left his body to be buried in the church of Friars Minors, at Worcester, and

^k Berry's Encyclopædia, tit. Funeral.

ordered that before his corpse a horse encased in iron should be led, according to custom, with military trappings."¹

"Sir Walter Cokesey, Knt. in 1294, left his body to be interred in the church of Friars Minors, at Worcester, and bequeathed to the brethren of that community x marks of silver, in lieu of his armour, which was to be borne before his body, and which his desire was should be reserved for and go entire to his son; but the horse which carried his armour before his corpse was to remain with the friars."^m

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries part of the funeral pageant consisted in having a courser or horse of estate, with trappings, led in the procession; but no one under the rank of a knight was entitled to that honour; and in the correspondence of Sir William Dugdale we have a curious instance where he raises and concludes the question, that if a gentleman be buried as High Sheriff of a County, and not as a mere esquire, he might in that case have his *chival de dule*,ⁿ or mourning horse, being buried as a knight in regard of his office.

Body armour was sometimes specially bequeathed to a church: thus "John Arden, one of the esquires of the body to Henry the Seventh, in 1526, bequeathed his white harneis complete to the church of Aston, (where his body was to be buried) for a George to wear it, and to stand on his pewe, a place made for it: and he provided that if the said George was not made within a year after his decease, that his executors should sell it."^o

But much oftener without any express request was it,

¹ Et coram corpore meo unum Equum, ferro coopertum, ut decet, cum stramentis militaribus.—Dugd. Warw. p. 930.

^m Dugd. Warw. p. 930.

ⁿ Cheval de deuil. Hamper's Life and Correspondence of Sir William Dugdale, p. 374.

^o Dugd. Warw. p. 928.

especially during the sixteenth century, hung up with other parts of the achievement.

In a few instances even in the fourteenth century, we find portions of armour to have been suspended over the tomb of the deceased. Over the monumental effigy in Hereford Cathedral, of Sir Richard Pembridge, who died in 1375, his jousting helme and shield continued to a late period to be affixed;^p and in Canterbury Cathedral, over the tomb of Edward the Black Prince, his shield, chapeau and crest, jousting helme, gauntlets, surcoat or juipon, and the sheath of his sword, (the latter having been taken away, as it is said, by Oliver Cromwell,) are still remaining. The tilting spear, chapeau and crest, and shield of John, Duke of Lancaster, who died in 1399, were affixed to his monument in old St. Paul's Cathedral, and were destroyed in the great fire of 1666.

But so few pieces of armour of an older date than the reign of Henry the Seventh still exist fixed up as achievements, that I am apt to think this fashion, before that time, was not generally followed; and to a period embracing the sixteenth and early part of the seventeenth century the helme and crest, sword and spurs, frequently found suspended in churches in the country, may be in most instances assigned.



Helmet in Coleshill Church, Warwickshire.
Temp. Hen. VII. ^q

^p Gough's Sep. Mon. This helme has within the last few years been taken down and presented to Sir S. R. Meyrick.

^q This helmet is very similar to one in which Henry VIII. is represented going in procession to a tournament, 1511. Engraved in Dallaway's Heraldry, p. 178.

Amidst directions for a funeral in the reign of Elizabeth, occur the following: "Over the grave must be hanged and set up his standard, banner, bannerolles, &c. and in the midst must be set up his whole achievement, viz. creast, helme, targett, sworde, and coate armour."

But though the articles which formed the funeral trophy were originally portions of the very armour of the person interred, in process of time it became customary for the King at Arms who conducted the funeral, as a matter connected therewith to furnish the requisite articles got up for that special purpose: and Sir William Dugdale, in his Diary for 1667, has noted down "the rates and prices for the atchievement of a Knight, wrought in oyl:—

	£.	s.	d.
A Standard 4 yards long, of crimson taffata	3	10	0
For 2 Pennons 2 yards and an halfe long, at £2. 10s. a peice	5	0	0
For a Coate of Armes	2	10	0
The Mantle of black velvet, wth gilt knobs.....	1	0	0
The Helmet, gilt wth silver and gold	1	0	0
The Crest, carved and coloured in oyle	0	13	0
The Sword, wth velvet scabard	0	10	0
The Target, carved and gilt in oyle	0	16	4
A Gauntlet.....	0	10	0
Gilt Spurs, with velvet spur lethurs	0	5	0

In a representation of the procession of heralds and pursuivants, at the funeral of Sir Philip Sidney, in 1587, Portcullis in his gown and hood, wearing also his coat or tabard of arms, appears first, carrying the spurs; the gauntlets were carried next by Blewmantle; the helme, with the mantle, surmounted by the crest on a wreath or torce, was then carried by Rouge Dragon; next followed Richmond Herald, bearing the shield or targe, and sword; the coat of armes was then borne by Somerset Herald, and Clarencieux, King of Arms, followed last.^r

^r A Roll of the funeral of Sir Philip Sidney, drawn by Thomas Lant' Windsor Herald, was engraved by Derick Theodore de Brigon, 1587. The procession of the Heralds from this Roll is engraved in Dallaway's *Heraldry*, p. 250.

The civil wars of the seventeenth century, and the great change which thereupon ensued in every private establishment, especially of the ancient gentry and nobility, proved fatal to the gorgeous processions of this nature, in which heraldic pomp so pre-eminently shone forth. The splendid funeral of the Protector, Oliver Cromwell, was perhaps one of the last in which cost seems to have been disregarded, and was remarkable for the amazing display of heraldic devices.

Yet even before that eventful era, and early in the reign of Charles the First, pompous funerals were falling into disuse; and Weaver^s complains that expensive funerals were then accounted but as a fruitless vanity, insomuch that almost all the ceremonial rites of obsequies theretofore used, were altogether laid aside: for we see daily, saith he, that noblemen and gentlemen of eminent rank, office and quality, are either silently buried in the night time, with a torch, a two-penny link, and a lanterne; or parsimoniously interred in the day time by the help of some ignorant country painter, without the attendance of any one of the officers of armes,^t whose chiefest support and maintenance hath ever depended upon the performance of such funeral rites and exequies.

However, we find, soon after the Restoration, in the year 1667, Sir William Dugdale, then Norroy Provincial King of Arms, asserting the rights of his office in defacing such tables of arms as he found in any public places which were fictitious, and in pulling down and defacing several achieve-

^s Fun. Mon. pub. A. D. 1631, p. 17.

^t In 1568, the Earl Marshal issued an order, that Garter principal king of arms should have the ordering of the funerals of Knights of the Garter and their wives, and that Clarencieux and Norroy should, within their provinces, have the setting forth of the funerals of other noble and gentle persons.—Berry's Encyc. Herald. tit. Funeral.

ments, irregularly and against the laws of arms hung up in many churches within the precincts of his province. He also commenced a suit at law against one Randle Holme, a painter in the city of Chester, who had invaded his office, as Norroy, by preparing achievements for the funeral of Sir Raphe Ashton, of Middleton, in the county of Lancaster, and giving directions for a formal proceeding at the solemnity thereof; and at the trial of this cause, which took place at the Stafford assizes, in March, 1667, he recovered damages to the amount of twenty pounds. Also, in a letter of his to Elias Ashmole, written in September the same year, he complains of their destructive foes the painters, and wished to have it well considered whether it would be worthy an act of parliament to restrain them from usurping the places of the heralds, and to paint arms, they being by their trade, not painters of arms, but "Paynter-Stayners;" and he considered that actions at law were open against them for that in all the king's commissions, from the reign of Henry the Eighth, the painters were expressly prohibited to intermeddle with what concerned arms, without the license and directions of the kings of arms, whereunto, saith he, they generally yielded obedience till the late rebellion began; and then, either by confederacy with, or connivance of, those which acted under the usurpers, they did what they list, which makes them now so insolent.

But the monopolizing power of the heralds once broken through, was not again so easy to be restored; and the distractions which afterwards ensued, and subsequent renovation of the Constitution, by the which the people were acknowledged of right to have more than a nominal share in the government, tended to put an end, in practice at least, to all exclusive privileges of this nature; and honorary dis-

tinctions of rank were disregarded in the ceremonial of funerals.

Such was the case on the obsequies of Francis Tyssen, Esq, lord of the manor of Hackney, whose body was buried in that church on the 11th of November, 1716, after having been previously lying in state at Goldsmith's Hall, under a stately alcove, adorned with lights, feathers, and trophies, and from thence carried at night with great pomp, the hearse bedecked with escutcheons, feathers, and streamers, preceded by sixty horsemen and four trumpeters, attended with lights, trophies, (which were afterwards fastened to the wall against his tomb,) and a led horse, covered with velvet, attended by six pages in mourning, and followed by an empty coach of state, and thirty-six coaches and six, containing supporters of the pall and mourners. The irregularity of the proceedings at this pompous funeral, which was computed to have cost two thousand pounds, being unfitting the degree of a private person, having no pretensions to rank or nobility, occasioned the following advertisement in the Gazette of the 23d of November, 1716, by order of the Earl of Suffolk, Deputy Earl Marshal:—

“The post-boy of the 14th inst. Nov. giving an account that on Monday preceding, the corps of Francis Tyssen, Esq. lay in state at Goldsmith's Hall, in so grand and compleat a manner as had not been seen before; and that on the Monday following, lying in state all that day, was carried in great procession, with four of the King's trumpets, &c. with a led horse in a velvet caparison, and all the trophies proper to a gentleman on that occasion, to Hackney, where he was interred, to the entire satisfaction of all spectators. This is therefore to satisfy the public, that application having been made to his Majesty's servants, the Officers of

Arms, to direct and marshal the said funeral, they were ready to consent thereto; but the manner in which the body was set forth, and also a led horse, trumpets, guidons, and six pennons, with a coach of state, being insisted upon by some of the persons concerned in the said funeral to be used thereat, (all which far exceeded the quality of the deceased, he being only a private gentleman,) the said officers refused to give their attendance at the said funeral, although of right they ought to have borne the trophies proper to the degree of the defunct; notwithstanding which, the same were carried by improper persons, in so very irregular and unjustifiable a manner, that not any one of the said trophies was carried in its right place; which licentious liberty taken of late years by ignorant pretenders, to marshal and set forth the funerals of the nobility, gentry, and others, (too often above their estate and quality) is not only an open violation of the several established rules and orders heretofore made for the interment of all degrees, but highly tends to the lessening of the rights and honour of the nobility and gentry in general, and more especially when the funerals of ignoble persons are set forth by them with such trophies of honour as belong only to the peers and gentry of this realm.”^u

During the last century, and at the present day, it has become a usual practice, and is esteemed a mark of respect paid to the memory of the deceased, if of rank, for the friends and acquaintance to send their empty carriages to follow the hearse, which is sometimes covered with escutcheons; and in the funerals of the nobility, the coronet pertaining to their rank is carried; but beyond this, except in a few particular cases, very little of the funeral magni-

^u Lyson's *Environs of London*, Vol. II. p. 504.

ficence of former times can be traced; neither are the heralds employed now, as they were wont formerly to be, in marshalling funeral processions. And the bodies of the rich and poor are now consigned to the tomb—the former indeed to their vaulted sepulchres, the latter more immediately to the earth—without any distinction being made, as in former times, in respect of the burial service, which, since the Reformation, has been alike performed over all, without regard of person.



Funeral of a Nun.



Monumental Stone, found at Ludgate, London, in 1663. Now in the Arundelian Collection at Oxford.

From the Marmora Oxoniensis.

CHAPTER VI.

OF THE SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS OF BRITAIN ;

From the earliest period to the Norman Invasion.

THE generality of mankind have ever passed away unnoticed and forgotten ; yet each succeeding age has produced individuals distinguished above others, whose names have been rescued from oblivion. Hence the origin of sepulchral memorials ; for, from a desire to perpetuate the memory of those of old, eminent for their prowess or wisdom, and sometimes from motives of friendship or regard, attempts were early made to secure their remembrance, by bestowing over their remains some visible sign or symbol.

Thus Jacob set a monument or pillar over the grave of Rachel, and Absalom reared for himself a pillar to transmit his name to posterity.

In Egypt, the nursery of the arts, the feeling of ancient reverence for the dead is still apparent in the Pyramids, the most stupendous monuments of man, and the vast subterraneous chambers of the dead, which, hewn out of the rocks with immense labour, present to the traveller walls covered with hieroglyphics, paintings, and sculptured representations in relief, and sometimes contain entire statues of gigantic dimensions. These sculptures are of varied degrees of merit, exhibiting the infancy and progress, to a certain extent, of art, in design and execution; and some of them we may assume to be amongst the most ancient imitations, by the hand of man, of the human form.

Amongst the Grecians, through whom we next trace the progress of the arts, and who borrowed from, and improved on, the Egyptians, the earliest sepulchral memorials were mere mounds or tumuli, raised up over the bodies of the dead; and such are mentioned by Homer. But whilst endeavouring to attain to that high degree of perfection both in sculpture and architecture, which for grand simplicity of conception and excellence of composition and execution has never since been equalled, they seem to have paid no slight attention to their funeral monuments, which by impressing on the mind the recollection of past events, contributed in no small degree to inspire them with that devotion towards their country, which enabled them, during a series of ages, to overcome every attempt of their foreign aggressors. And thus it was that, animated with this feeling, they were reminded at Salamis that they fought "for the sepulchres of their fathers."

Most of the inscribed monuments of Greece were placed without their cities, and near their public roads; they consisted principally of stelæ, cippi, or stone columns, of a round or cubical form, sculptured tablets, and sarcophagi, and were frequently decreed by the government to be erected as memorials of the public gratitude to the memory of deserving citizens.

Ο δῆμος ἀνεθήκεν
Τερωντιδὴν θεοδώρου.

was an inscription of this kind. ^v

Sepulchral stelæ, or columns of a private nature, were commonly inscribed with the name of the person to whom erected, of whom he was the son, and the name of the place of his birth.

It was from their intercourse with Greece that the Romans acquired their taste for the arts; and on the subjugation of that country, in the second century before Christ, were enabled to gratify their passion by the study of the grandest architectural works and finest statues, many of the latter of which were removed to Rome; but they failed in their attempts to surpass the noble simplicity and severe grandeur of Grecian sculpture and architecture, and evinced in their study of the one a want of that chasteness of design, for which their prototypes were pre-eminently distinguished; and in the other, by a difference of arrangement in many of the external details, and the introduction of a profusion of ornament, broke through the bounds of Grecian art, and begat a meretriciousness of style, from which the monuments of Greece were free.

The taste thus imbibed by the Romans for architecture and sculpture was not confined to their public buildings and

^v Preserved in the Marmora Oxoniensia.

temples, but extended also to their sepulchral monuments, which, towards the latter end of the republic, and under the early emperors, were often embellished with architectural compositions, and sculptures in basso relievo, and served greatly to ornament their public highways, on the sides of which they were placed.

The earliest sepulchral memorials of the Britons, like those of other ancient nations, in a similar state of uncivilization, were simple barrows of stone or earth; and such were the only funeral monuments of the inhabitants of this island, previous to its becoming a province of Rome.

The internal contents of these barrows have been discussed in a preceding chapter. On the Downs of Wiltshire and Berkshire, where they are, perhaps, more numerous than in any other parts of the kingdom, they appear in a variety of distinctive forms; and some of them, as the bell-shaped barrows, were designed and moulded with much skill, and exhibit in their contour a great degree of elegance and beauty. From a discriminative view of these British tumuli, it is very evident that they were not hastily thrown up, the result of mere manual labour; but that, with regard to the peculiarities of their outward formation, some certain system must have been adopted, with which we are unacquainted. Of the isolated barrows, many appear to have been raised, not merely for sepulchral purposes, but also, as the elevated sites on which they are placed, and other circumstances connected with them, evince, to serve as beacons, or points of communication between the different fastnesses throughout the country, and also as way-marks to guide the traveller; * and no other than these unlettered funeral monuments of the Ancient Britons exist.

* A brief illustration of this system of Barrow communication has been attempted by Mr. Stackhouse; his observations have, however, chiefly been

But no sooner had the Romans, after much opposition, overcome the warlike tribes of Britain, and established themselves in this country, which they did towards the close of the first century, than they began to introduce amongst the natives the arts of civilization, combined with their own peculiar usages; and on burying their dead, occasionally erected monumental tablets or stones to their memory, which were commonly inscribed with a dedication to the *Dii Manes*, or shade of the deceased, his name and age, and if a soldier, the legion or cohort to which he belonged.

Many such inscribed stones have been discovered in various parts of Britain, particularly near the Roman wall in the north; and the inscriptions on several have been preserved from oblivion by Camden, Stukeley, Horseley, and others.

The following, discovered near Cambeck Fort, Cumberland, is illustrative of the style in which such inscriptions generally ran; D. M. or *DÏS MANÍBVS*, being the common pretext to Roman sepulchral inscriptions, and many of the words of which they were composed were abbreviated.

D. M.
AVRELI
CONCDI
DI. VIXIT
ANN. VN
M. D. X
FIL AVR
IVLIANI
TRIB

made in the western counties. In my own immediate neighbourhood, near Rugby, in Warwickshire, traces of such a system are still apparent: the relative position of various tumuli tend at least to lead to that conclusion, and I have little doubt but that it prevailed generally throughout the country. When used as beacons, the signal of alarm was made by the glare of fires at night, and in the day time by the smoke. Caesar, in his Commentaries on the Gallic War, ljb. vii. s. 3, has referred to a species of telegraphic communication made by the Gauls; and some system of the kind as anciently practised in the east, is alluded to by Jeremiah, c. xxxi. v. 21, "Set thee up way marks; make thee high heaps."

“To the Dii Manes of Aurelius Condidus—he lived one year and ten days—the son of Aurelianus Julianus the tribune.”

In the parish church of Tredonnoc, Monmouthshire, which lies upon the banks of the Usk, a stone bearing the inscription following, and found three feet deep in the ground, is affixed to the interior of the north wall:—

D. M. IVLIANVS
MIL. LEG. II. AVG. STIP
XVIII. ANNOR. XL
HIC SITVS EST
CVRA AGENTE
AMANDA
CONGVGE

An inscribed monumental stone, to the memory of an *alumna* of Mercatius, or Mercurialis Magnius, who lived one year six months and twelve days, was some years ago discovered at Bath, in the Upper Borough Walls, and not far from the site of the North Gate. Of this the vignette at the end of the chapter is a representation. *

On some of these monuments are busts and figures in basso relievo, but they are sculptured with little skill, and we seldom perceive either in the execution or composition any approach towards excellence in the art.

Of these sculptured monuments, there is one near Brecon, on which appear the effigies in relief of a Roman citizen and his wife, and beneath them is an inscription now nearly obliterated, but which is supposed to have been thus:—

ALANCIA CIVIS
ET CONIVX EIVS
H. S. E

The engraving at the head of this chapter is of a sculptured and inscribed monumental stone, found near Ludgate, in London, in 1669, and preserved amongst the Arundelian

* From an engraving in the 22d Vol. of the *Archæologia*.

Marbles at Oxford. The figure in bas-relief is supposed to represent a Romanized Briton, ⁷ clad in the Roman habit, the tunic fastened round the loins by a belt buckled in front, and the sagum or cloak fastened on the right shoulder; in the right hand a sword is held; the inscription above is in exact accordance with the Roman style, and the monument altogether evinces the adoption by the British chieftains of the Roman habits.

These sepulchral monuments must not, however, be confounded with the votive and sculptured altars and tablets which are much more frequently found in Britain, and which are either dedicated to some god, as to I. O. M. *Jovi Optimo Maximo*, or inscribed to some local deity, as to *Genio Loci*, or intended to perpetuate the memory of some particular event.



Inscribed monuments of the later Britons.

From Borlase's Antiq. Cornwall.

Inscribed monuments appear to have been occasionally set up by the Britons after the departure of the Romans; and several of these still remain in Cornwall, and have been

⁷ Meyrick's *Costume of the Ancient Inhabitants of the British Islands*, p. 36.

minutely described by Borlase, the historian of that county. The great peculiarity in these monuments, which are of a cubical shape, varying in length from five or six feet to ten, is, that the words are not placed transversely, but the inscription on each is cut so as to be read downwards from the top to the bottom: they are also very short, declaring merely the name of the person, and of whom he was the son, as in the following instances: *Cnegumi fil Enano—Isnioc vital fil Torrici—Cirusus hic iacet Cunowori filius*. Similar monuments are likewise to be met with in different parts of Wales; and one of the latest is the well-known pillar of Eliseg, in the vale of Llangollen, in Denbighshire; though on this the inscription, now obliterated, was lengthy, and cut horizontally.

These inscriptions are in Latin, and many of the words are abbreviated; but they differ from the Roman sepulchral inscriptions in the omission of D. M. or *Dis Manibus*, with which the latter generally commenced, according to the Heathen custom.

In Camden's *Britannia*, amongst other stones of this kind, one is mentioned as existing in the parish of Mangan, Glamorganshire, on which is this inscription:—

BOD VOC HIC JACET | FILIUS CATOTIS IRNI | PRONEPUS
ETERNALI | IN DOMAV

The era to which these particular monuments may be ascribed, is that from the fourth to the eighth century.

Obeliskal monuments, the sides of which are ornamented with fret, lozenge, and knot work, and figures both of men and animals, rudely sculptured in relief, are to be met with in various parts of Britain, though more particularly in the northern parts of Scotland. These are usually attributed to the Danes; and though all may not have been

the work of that people, there is little doubt but that they are of Scandinavian origin, and were generally erected to commemorate a victory, or some remarkable event, though they were evidently sometimes intended for sepulchral memorials. The sides of many are horizontally divided into compartments, which are filled with sculptures, amongst which the appendages of the chace are frequent embellishments. Those whereon figures of armed men and military ensigns appear, may have been designed as trophies of victory. It is, however, very rare that there is any inscription to designate the purpose for which they were actually erected, which must thus in a great measure be left to conjecture.

Of these monuments Bishop Nicholson observes, "Were we sure that the Picts were a colony of the Agathrisi, or maritime inhabitants of the Baltic, we could no longer be at a loss to whom we should ascribe the many monuments found on the north east parts of Scotland, which so exactly resemble those runic piles that are in Sweden and Denmark. But till this is made much plainer than hitherto it appears to me, I must believe them to be remains of the later incursions of the Danes, and other northern nations."²

"These monuments," says Cordiner, "are all said to have been erected in memory of defeats of the Danes; but there does not appear any reference that the hieroglyphics on them can have to such events. That they have been raised on interesting occasions there can be little doubt, perhaps in memory of the most renowned chieftains, and their exploits who first embraced Christianity. They are the most ancient memorials of its establishment; and if among the first expressions of public veneration for the cross, their antiquity may be considerable; for the *Keledei*,

² Scott's Historical Library, p. 64. Gordon's *Iter Septentrionale*, p. 159.

emissaries of the sacred colleges, *Columba*, from *Iona*, and others, had opened a dawn of Christianity upon these northern counties in the sixth century."^a

Amongst numerous specimens in Scotland, the obelisk at Forres is considered much worthy of attention; on one side it is profusely decorated with fret and lozenge work, and a circular-headed cross, and on the side opposite a series of horizontal divisions contain numerous figures of men on foot and horseback, armed with bows and other offensive weapons. This obelisk is supposed to have been erected to commemorate the peace concluded between Malcolm and Canute, A. D. 1033. Of those in South Britain, Copstone Stone, near Crediton, Devon, is one of the most perfect now existing.

Of the few monuments of this kind which bear inscriptions in runic characters, may be instanced one remaining at Bewcastle,^b and another near Rayne, about twenty miles north west of Aberdeen.

An immense number of stones and rocks inscribed with runes are still existing in Sweden, where they are more numerous than in any other country; the inscriptions purport to be in memory of the dead, and exhibit the name of the deceased, and the most remarkable events of his life. Besides North Britain they are to be met with in Iceland, the northern parts of Germany, bordering on the Baltic, and the Isle of Man.

The era to which the erection of these obeliskal pillars may generally be ascribed, is that comprised between the ninth and twelfth centuries, though some are undoubtedly more ancient, and they are, perhaps, almost the only relics of those dark and turbulent ages, distinguished for general

^a Antiq. of Scotland, p. 66.

^b Engraved in Palgrave's Hist. Engl. Vol. I. p. 144.

ignorance and the neglect of those pursuits which can rarely be followed with success, and encouraged in a state seldom tranquil for any length of time. Partaking in the foliage scroll and knot work with which they sometimes abound, much seemingly of Roman character and origin, though such imitation is peculiar, and exhibiting rude and emblematical representations of the human and animal form, we may perchance imagine we trace in them the connecting links between the embellishments of Roman design and the sculptured relievos of the Normans.



Roman sepulchral monument, discovered at Bath.

From the *Archæologia*.



Coped Tomb in the Temple Church, London.
Twelfth Century.

CHAPTER VII.

OF SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS,

From the Norman Invasion to the thirteenth century.

A LONG series of devastating wars were the continued scourge of this country, with little intermission, from the departure of the Romans in the fifth century, to the Norman Invasion. These, in the prosecution of which respect was rarely paid to religious foundations, and the decline of literature and the arts occasioned by the general decay of the empire, the effects of which were felt here as elsewhere, will account for the paucity of architectural and monumental remains prior to the eleventh century.

It was not till after the Conquest that the Scandinavian adventurers ceased their piratical incursions; and the new system of military polity then adopted was sufficient to secure this country from foreign aggression. The submission also of the clergy, till then independent of the church of Rome, to Papal domination, had the effect of making them feared, and all classes subservient to their interests, so that during the intestine wars with which this country was, for many succeeding ages, at different periods, afflicted, the ecclesiastical structures were seldom disturbed by the different contending parties, since any violation or sacrilege would have brought upon the offenders not only general execration, but also the anathemas of the Papal church, which in those ages few dared openly to despise.

Of the numerous monumental relics, therefore, which are preserved within the churches of this country, none can with certainty be ascribed to a period anterior to the Norman Conquest; and even from thence to the reign of Henry the Third, comprizing the latter part of the eleventh and whole of the twelfth century, the number is comparatively small, notwithstanding the vast increase of monastic edifices and churches, more of which were then founded than in any other period of like duration.

Some of the sepulchral monuments of this era are remarkable for their prismatic or ridge-like shapes, and narrow gradually in width the whole length downwards, so as to fit the stone coffins of which they formed the covers; and these are either entirely plain, or rudely sculptured with crosses, foliage, and scroll work; but are uninscribed.

The tomb in Winchester Cathedral, asserted to be that of William Rufus, is of grey marble, raised about two feet from the pavement; the top is formed *en dos d'âne*, and it is entirely devoid of ornament. In the Temple Church,

London; and in the churches of Braunstone, Leicestershire; Landbeach, Cambridgeshire; Chesterford church-yard, Cambridgeshire; Ramsey and Steeple Gidding church-yards, Huntingdonshire; and in the church of Dorchester, Oxfordshire, are coped coffin stones of like formation, ornamented with crosses. Some of these, however, may possibly be of the early part of the thirteenth century.

Few monuments of this era have inscriptions; such were not common till the fourteenth century: but the most ancient monument to which a date can be assigned, is the sculptured slab which once covered the remains of Gundred, wife of William de Warren, Earl of Surrey, and daughter of William the Conqueror, who died A. D. 1085, and was buried in the chapter house of the Priory of Lewes; it is of black marble, wider at one end than the other, and differs from most other monuments of this age, in not being fashioned *en dos d'asne*, but flat; round the verge and down the centre is the inscription, in Latin hexameters, composed of Roman letters; the remainder of the slab is covered with sculpture, in relief, consisting of semicircular divisions, foliage, heads, and other decorative embellishments. This curious monument was discovered some years ago in the parish church of Isfield, in Sussex, to which it appears to have been removed from Lewes when the conventual church was pulled down, at the dissolution of the Priory there, and is now preserved in the church of St. John the Baptist, Southover, near Lewes.^c

In the Norman church of Ewenny, Glamorganshire, is an ancient tombstone,^d sculptured round the verge, which is bevilled, with foliage; at the head, within a circle, is a kind of floriated cross formed of foliage, below this a staff,

^c Engraved in Watson's Hist. of the Earls of Warren.

^d Engraved in the Gents. Mag. July, 1831.

with a double-headed crook, divides the monument length-ways, and on each side of the staff is an inscription in French, in Longobardic characters, which purports the monument to be that of Maurice de Londres, who in the year 1141 gave Ewenny as a cell to Gloucester Abbey. The inscription is as follows :—

ICI GIST MORICE DE LVNDRES LE FVNDVR DEV LI RENDE SVN LABVR.
AM.



Some very ancient lids of stone coffins have been discovered in Cambridge Castle,^e which was built soon after the Conquest, under part of the original ramparts; they are ornamented with rude crosses, and covered with knot or fret-work, bearing a resemblance to the Roman guilloche, though they more nearly approach in style of decoration the obeliskal monuments attributed to the Danes.

A very ancient raised tomb, with a coped top, rudely ornamented, at Dewsbury, Yorkshire, may perhaps be ascribed to even an earlier date than the Conquest. Another, referable to the latter part of the twelfth century, is in Canterbury Cathedral, and is attributed to Archbishop Theobald, who died A. D. 1160. The sides are ornamented with arcades of trefoil-headed arches, springing from small circular piers, with base mouldings and capitals, forming a specimen of the early transition style. The top of this tomb is of the prismatic or roof-like form, and adorned with sculptured heads, in relief, within lozenge-shaped compartments, rudely quatrefoiled.

The exact period when effigies first occur on coffin lids

^e Several of these are engraved in the *Archæologia*, Vol. 17.

or tombs is uncertain; the close of the eleventh century is, however, the earliest era to which any cumbent figure can possibly be ascribed. The oldest sepulchral effigies are of ecclesiastics, sculptured in low relief, on coffin-shaped slabs; such are those in the cloisters of Westminster Abbey, which are conjectured to represent Vitalis, the twenty-first abbot, who died A. D. 1082, and Gilbertus Crispinus, who succeeded him, and died A. D. 1117; these appear without mitres, and plainly habited; in the right hand of the one is the pastoral staff, with a simple crook forming the head, and in the left hand is a chalice; the hands of the other seem to have been joined on the breast. In the Cathedral of Peterborough are some ancient effigies of abbots, which, from the architectural details which ornament the coffin lids on which they are sculptured, may be assigned to the middle and latter part of the twelfth century. The effigies appear in the early ecclesiastical costume, the alb, stole, and chesible; in the left hand of each is a book, and in the right hand the pastoral staff, with a plain curved head or crook. They are represented treading upon dragons, emblematic of the arch-enemy of Christianity. The heads of all are bare, and repose within shallow-arched recesses, which on two present the circular, and on a third the pointed trefoil.

In Salisbury Cathedral are some ancient sepulchral effigies, in relief, one of which is ascribed as that of Bishop Roger, who died A. D. 1139. He is represented in the episcopal vestments,^f amice, alb, stole, maniple, dalmatic, and chesible, with a low mitre on his head; in the left hand is the pastoral staff, with a plain curved crook for the head, the right hand is upheld in the act of giving the benediction, at the feet is a dragon, and round the effigy is a border of ornamental scroll-work, somewhat similar in design to that on the sepulchral slab of Gundred de Warren.

^f These are fully described in a subsequent chapter.

The effigies of Henry the Second and Richard the First, the former of whom died in 1189, the latter in 1199, and who were buried at Fontevrand, in France, represent them attired in habits of Royalty, namely, the inner vestment, camise, or shirt, over which is the tunic; above which the dalmatic or supertunic appears; and, lastly, the mantle, which, on the effigy of Henry the Second, is fastened, according to the ancient Saxon mode, by a fibula or clasp on the right shoulder; on that of Richard the First by a clasp in front of the breast; the head of each is crowned, on the hands gloves are worn, and on the feet are boots, with spurs of the prick kind; on the left side of the effigy of Henry the Second, but apart from the body, is a sword, with the belt twisted round it.

Towards the close of the twelfth century effigies in armour first made their appearance on tombs. That of Geoffry de Magnaville, Earl of Essex, and two others, of those in the Temple Church, London, are probably the earliest existing instances, and may be attributed to the reign of Richard the First, since they are represented in the armour of that period, between which, however, and that worn in the two succeeding reigns there is but little apparent difference. The armour consisted of a hawberk ^g of mail of rings set edge-wise, to which a hood of mail, which covered the head, was sometimes appended, together with chausses ^h of the same kind of mail, which protected the legs, feet, and thighs; over the hawberk was worn a surcoat without sleeves, a long heater-shaped shield was suspended on the left side by a transverse guage or belt, crossing the breast, and over the right shoulder; the sword was affixed to the *right* side, a peculiarity which appertains only to these very early effigies; on the heads of that of Geoffry de Magnaville, and of the

^g The hawberk was the shirt or tunic of mail.

^h Chausses were pantaloons, or breeches and stockings of mail combined.

one hereunder represented, are cylindrical-shaped helmets ; but the other has merely the *coif de mailles*, or hood of mail, encircled about the temples, with a broad band or fillet.

These, as well as other early sculptured figures, formed originally part of the covers of the stone coffins in which the persons they represented were buried. Hence it is that we often see the slab out of which ancient effigies were cut in high relief, fashioned after the shape of the old stone coffins, much wider at the head than at the feet. A change took place in this respect about the middle of the thirteenth century, and the slab on which the effigy reposed was fashioned of equal width throughout.



Sepulchral Effigy. Temp. Richard the First.

In the Temple Church, London.



Monument of Sir Robert de Vere ; in Sudborough Church, Northamptonshire.
Thirteenth Century.

CHAPTER VIII.

OF THE SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

THE doctrine of feuds, which originated in the military policy of the northern nations, was not completely established in this island till the close of the eleventh century, when a regular system, founded upon the suppositious principle that all lands were held of the crown, either directly or through the medium of some powerful lord, on render of feudal services, was introduced by the Norman Conqueror; and in the thirteenth century, notwithstanding frequent attempts had been made by the barons and people to re-establish the ancient Saxon laws, and abolish, or at least modify, the oppressive tenures imposed upon them,

in which they partly succeeded, the feudal system flourished in full vigour.

The nation then consisted of the clergy, possessing immense influence and wealth; the nobility and more powerful barons, who held their lands immediately of the crown; the inferior barons and knights, who held of their superior lords; and the burghers, or inhabitants of the cities and towns, who were chiefly engaged in trade: the remainder of the nation was composed of the peasantry, or villeins, who lived dependent on the lords of the soil, in a state little better, at times, than that of the most abject servitude.

At this period every person of the least importance in society was either an ecclesiastic, or else held his lands by military service, and on that account, of whatever grade, was bound to follow with his retainers his king or superior lord when called upon, completely equipped for war.

Such being the general state of society, it is not matter of astonishment that the only sculptured monuments of this century, besides the effigies of those of regal rank, should either represent ecclesiastics in their robes, or warriors clad in armour, or ladies of high degree.

The crusades, which continued to engage the attention of the different countries of Christendom, had, by the increase of social intercourse between the principal European nations, already effected a considerable change in the manners of the upper classes of society, and contributed also to the cultivation of literature and the progress of the arts.

The latter had already made their re-appearance in the republican states of Italy, where with the rise of freedom the revival of sculpture may be traced. Itinerant sculptors from Italy are supposed to have early traversed Europe

in the exercise of their art, and to have brought it to this country, since an advance of excellence in the sculptured designs of this period is very perceptible; and in the attitude of some of the monumental effigies of the thirteenth century, which are conceived to have been designed by or after these foreign artists, a graceful simplicity is preserved, and in the drapery a freedom of arrangement we do not always find in the more elaborate and finished productions of a succeeding age.

As the talents of the sculptor were chiefly employed on the decoration of religious structures, which were now continually being founded, or receiving additions, and thus obtained encouragement, the memory of those who had signalized themselves in military service, or had attained to eminence in the church, was attempted to be preserved by the practice, which gradually became more frequent, of sculpturing their effigies in stone, and placing such over their remains.

During the early part and middle of this century the monumental tombs were low, and the sides were plain and unornamented; the covers also, which were sculptured in high relief, with cumbent effigies in stone, were often shaped purposely to fit the coffins of which they formed the lids, gradually diminishing in width. Some tombs of this description, with effigies, appear beneath low unornamented arches, obtusely pointed, and formed within the substance of the church wall. These tombs have generally been assigned either to the founder of the church, or to some early benefactor; or, if the effigy be that of an ecclesiastic, to the first rector or incumbent.

On many tombs of this era over the heads of the cumbent effigies, particularly of ecclesiastics, are plain pedimental-shaped canopies, the earliest of which contain a pointed

trefoliated arched recess. Such a one appears over the head of a monumental effigy of a bishop, in the Temple Church, London; but towards the end of the century, these canopies became gradually enriched with crockets, finials, and other architectural details; and such appear on the monuments in Rochester Cathedral, of Bishop Lawrence de St. Martin, who died in 1274, and Thomas de Inglethorpe, who died in 1291, and on the tomb in Hillmorton Church, Warwickshire, of Edith Astley, who died about the close of this century. Over the effigy of Eleanor, Queen of Edward the First, who died in 1290, is a canopy of this kind, of metal.

There are some flat slabs of this era, which served as coffin lids, diminishing in width from the top downwards, and are sculptured with crosses in relief. The variety of crosses, both plain and ornamented, on coffin stones and slabs, are very numerous, and of every age from the twelfth to the sixteenth century, being perhaps more common than any other species of monumental sculpture. They were not always denotations of the ecclesiastical order, though it is probable they were more appropriated to the clergy than to the civil classes of society. Many of these slabs being uninscribed, we have often no certain criterion to ascertain their probable date; but the most ancient, and those of this century, differ from those of later date by their coffin-shaped form, and have in general the cross more simply designed.

In the reign of Edward the First the sides of tombs of persons of rank began to be ornamented with armorial bearings and small sculptured statues, within pedimental canopied recesses, and from these we may progressively trace the peculiar minutiae and enrichments of every style of ecclesiastical architecture, from this period to the Reformation. One of the earliest tombs thus decorated is that in Westminster Abbey, whereon is the cumbent effigy of

Aveline, Countess of Lancaster, who died about the year 1269; the south side of this tomb is divided by small pinnacled buttresses into six arched niches or recesses, surmounted by pyramidal canopies, enriched with crockets and finials. Each recess is trefoliated in the head, and contains a small figure sculptured in high relief.

The tomb of Eleanor, wife of Edward the First, who died A. D. 1290, is decorated in a very similar manner; the sides are divided by small rich buttresses into a series of ornamental arched niches, in the early decorated style, with rich triangular canopies over them; each of these niches or recesses contains a shield bearing alternately the arms of England, Castile and Leon, and of Ponthieu.

To a late period in the ensuing century, the sides of the most remarkable tombs continued to be thus ornamented.

A singular kind of testoon or covering made its appearance over a few rich tombs at the latter end of this, and in the early part of the fourteenth century; this consisted of an arched canopy, the soffit or interior sweep of which was plain, surmounted by pyramidal pediments, beautifully enriched with crockets, finials, tracery, and sculptured designs, in the architectural style of the age. Testoons of this description occur over the tombs in Westminster Abbey of Aveline, Countess of Lancaster; and of Edward Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, who died in 1296; and over the tomb in Canterbury Cathedral of Archbishop Peckham, who died in 1292; they are, however, more characteristic of designs of the fourteenth century.

The body armour and habiliments, in which cumbent effigies, during the middle ages, are sculptured, underwent great alterations at different periods, and form the grand distinguishing characteristics by which we are enabled to determine in the absence of architectural or heraldic deco-

rations, or of inscriptions which seldom occur on tombs of this and not always on those of subsequent eras, the probable dates of sepulchral monuments.

The only monumental effigies which, during this century, afford specimens of royal costume, is that in Worcester Cathedral of John, who died in 1216, and those in Westminster Abbey of Henry the Third, who died in 1272, and Eleanor, the beloved consort of Edward the First, who died in 1290. That of John represents him as arrayed in a long tunic or under-garment, which reaches nearly to the ancles; and over this is the royal pallium^a, a supertunic or surcoat, with a bordered collar and sleeves, the extremities of which are ornamented; this reaches to just below the knees, and is fastened close round the waist by a belt or girdle, which buckles in front. On the hands gloves are worn, and on the middle finger of the right hand is a ring; on the head is a crown; the remains of a sceptre appear in the right hand, and in the left is a sword; on the feet are shoes and spurs; and on each side of the head is a small sculptured figure, episcopally habited, and holding a censer. The coffin-shaped slab, out of which this effigy is sculptured, originally formed the cover or lid of the stone coffin in which, in the year 1797, the remains of the king were discovered; the tomb on which it is now placed is evidently much more modern, being erected in the style of the latter part of the fifteenth century.

The effigy in Westminster Abbey of Henry the Third, which is of brass, of no mean design or execution, represents him vested in a long tunic, reaching to the ancles, but nearly concealed by a large mantle gracefully adjusted, and

^a *Deinde corpus induetur tunica usque ad talos longa, et desuper pallio regali adornabitur. &c.—Ante, p. 60.*

open only on the right side, where it is connected together at the shoulder by a fibula or clasp; this covers the whole of the body, except a small part, where it is raised to disclose the tunic; on the feet are boots, richly ornamented, and on the head is a crown, but the hands appear without either gloves or ring.

The statue of Queen Eleanor in Westminster Abbey, of metal gilt, is also a fine specimen of art; she appears attired in a high-bodied loose gown, and over that is a mantle, which covers her shoulders, and is open in front down to her knees, where it meets, and covers the lower part of the gown and her feet with the folds; the drapery is simply, though tastefully, disposed; her left hand rests on her bosom, grasping the cordon which connects the mantle, and which hangs down over her breast, and in her right hand a sceptre was formerly placed; her hair is long and flowing, her head, which reposes beneath a rich canopied recess on two ornamented cushions, is encircled by a coronet; and two lions sustain the pressure of her feet. A number of small holes, which appear drilled on different parts of the dress, seem to indicate that it was originally ornamented.

The complete armour of a knight, as worn during the whole of this century, and such as we usually find sepulchral effigies represented in, consisted of a hawberk or shirt of mail of rings, set edgewise, which covered the body, arms and hands, and reached down to the knees; the head was protected by a hood of mail attached to the hawberk, and forming part of it; the thighs, legs, and feet were cased in breeches and hose, or chausses of the same kind of mail; over the hawberk a long loose surcoat or linen frock, generally without sleeves, was worn; and this in most cases, though not always, was confined round the waist by a

narrow girdle, below which it fell open in front; the shield, which was of the heater shape, and often covered with the armorial bearings of the knight, was fastened or strapped to the left arm, and suspended from the neck when not in use by a guige or belt, passing diagonally over the right shoulder and under the left arm; the sword was affixed to a belt, which passed obliquely round the body from one hip to the opposite thigh, and buckled in front; and the spurs, of the prick kind, without rowels, were fastened to the feet by single leathers.

The effigies of William Mareschall the elder, Earl of Pembroke, who died in 1219, and of others, in the Temple Church, London; and of William Longespie, Earl of Salisbury, who died in 1227, in Salisbury Cathedral; may be noticed as presenting specimens of this kind of armour, in which by far the greater number of the monumental effigies of this century appear.

In the reign of Henry the Third the hawberk and chausses were sometimes formed of *chain-mail*, instead of mail of rings set edgewise. This new species of armour was introduced by the Crusaders, who brought it from Asia, and it was formed of four rings joining a fifth, all of them fastened by rivets: sometimes the number of rings were increased two-fold, and it then became double chain-mail. Effigies represented in armour of chain-mail are not uncommon, though we do not meet with them on tombs so often as those in armour of mail formed of rings set edgewise. Both kinds were in use at the same period, during nearly the whole of this, and early part of the succeeding century.

The effigy in Hatfield Broad Oak Church, Kent, of Robert de Vere, Earl of Oxford, who died in 1221, exhibits

an early specimen of armour of this description : the Earl is there represented in a hooded hawberk, and chausses of chain-mail. And in Gosperton Church, Lincolnshire, is a monumental effigy, very elegantly designed, represented in a similar suit of armour of chain-mail, with the addition of poleyns or knee caps of plate,



Effigy in Gosperton Church. Temp. Henry the Third.

A few other general observations applicable to the armour of this period may be made. Just above the forehead an interlaced border or strap often appears, by which the knight was enabled to disengage his head from the coif de mailles or hood, when he wished to relieve himself; and sometimes a broad band or fillet goes all round the coif de mailles, just over the forehead. The hawberk generally covered the chin, and in some instances even the mouth, and reached to the

middle of the thighs; and the fingers were seldom divided. Underneath the hawberk was worn the *haketon*, a quilted and padded garment, which appears, however, on sepulchral effigies in very few instances, being generally concealed by the hawberk and surcoat. Poleyns or knee caps of plate were introduced early in the reign of Henry the Third, and soon became very common.

The attitudes are various in which the armed effigies of this century were sculptured: they are frequently represented actively employed, as if in the act of drawing the sword, and sometimes in a state of calm repose, the hands being joined together as in prayer, or crossed on the breast; and in some instances the right arm is nearly straight, and the hand rests upon the thigh; the right leg is very frequently crossed over the left, and occasionally the left over the right; but the legs are also often straight, and generally rest against the figure of a lion, or some other animal.

With regard to the monumental effigies which are represented with the legs crossed, and which during this century are of frequent occurrence, the most common supposition entertained is, that such attitude was intended to distinguish those nobles, barons, and knights, who were either actual Crusaders, or who, having vowed to engage as such, died before their vow could be performed. That notion is, however, but conjectural, and can be traced to no sufficient authority; and besides this, the cross-legged attitude was retained for more than half a century after the cessation of the last crusade, though it may be remarked that subsequent to the thirteenth century the instances of such attitude are not very numerous. The sculptors of these early effigies certainly seem to have been more intent upon giving freedom and general breadth of effect to their compositions, than elaborate execution or high finish of

detail, though they were by no means deficient in the latter ; and on referring to the effigies of this era, it will be observed, that where the legs appear crossed, the surcoat opens in front, and the drapery falls on each side in free and graceful flowing lines ; and by such disposition a degree of lightness and elegance was often attained, which the heavy and constrained folds of the surcoat, when the legs were straight, did not admit of. In the early part of the fourteenth century, when the *cyclas*, a shorter and closer-bodied surcoat, was worn, this attitude became less frequent ; and to about the period that the *cyclas*, which succeeded the loose surcoat as a body garment, was discarded, and the defensive armour was chiefly composed of plate, the final discontinuance of the cross-legged attitude may also be traced.

The monumental effigies of females, during this century, are not very numerous ; the dress consisted of a coif or close scull cap, covering the head, to which the wimple was attached, and the latter was brought round under the chin, so as to conceal the whole of the throat ; above the coif was a hood or veil, which fell down in folds to the shoulders on each side. The body dress was composed of a robe or gown, either loose or fitting close to the waist, from whence it fell in folds down to the feet, over this was worn an open mantle or cloak, reaching to the feet, and connected by a cordon hanging down on the breast, and the mantle was partially tucked up in folds under the arms, leaving the front of the gown exposed. At the latter end of this century the gorget, a neck covering poked up by pins above the ears, came in fashion.

The effigy in Bristol Cathedral of Jane, wife of Thomas, Lord Berkeley, who died in 1243 ; that in Westminster Abbey of Aveline, Countess of Lancaster ; and that in

Hillmorton Church, Warwickshire, of Edith Astley, are excellent specimens of the female costume of this period; the head and neck dress on each consists of a coif, wimple, and hood or veil; the body dress of a long loose gown and mantle; and the draperies are tastefully arranged.

The attitude in which females are represented is devotional; the hands are conjoined on the breast, the head reposes on a double pillow, and at the feet are a couple of whelps or dogs.



Brass effigy of a Priest; in Stone Church, Kent. A. D. 1408. ^b

On many tombs of ecclesiastics are their cumbent effigies represented in the sacerdotal robes, in which they were accustomed to officiate at mass; and the rich and numerous vestments worn by the higher ranks of the clergy are most accurately copied and sculptured.

^b Sacerdotal vestments, 1, 1, alb. 2, stole. 3, maniple. 4, chesible.

The pontificals in which bishops, during the thirteenth century, appear by their monumental effigies to have been vested, consisted of the *chesible*, a peculiar kind of outer vestment, worn at the celebration of mass; this was rounded at the bottom, and hung down before and behind; it was not a close garment, but open at the sides. Immediately beneath the *chesible*, the *dalmatic* was worn; this garment was a kind of robe that reached to the middle of the legs, the borders were fringed, and it was open at the sides from the bottom a short way upwards. Underneath the lower part of the *dalmatic*, the fringed extremities of the *stole* appear; this was a kind of narrow scarf that went round the neck, was crossed in front, and hung down before in two ends, something like the scarf worn by the clergy at the present day. Beneath all these was the *alb*, a long loose tunic or under garment, like a surplice, which reached down to the feet. On the head appears the *mitre*, which was less ornamented, and of a more depressed form in this, than it was in the succeeding centuries. The *pastoral staff*, headed with a curved crook, was held in the left hand, whilst the right is commonly represented as raised in the act of benediction, with two of the fingers closed and the others extended; and the *maniple*, a kind of embroidered scarf, hung over the left arm. Gloves, boots or sandals, and the episcopal ring, complete such parts of the dress as are outwardly visible.

In our cathedral churches, where the sepulchral effigies of bishops from the twelfth to the seventeenth century are numerous, the difference between the episcopal and sacerdotal vestments of this and later eras is not so much manifested by any particular change in the dress itself, as by the increased costliness of the robes; and perhaps the best criteria to distinguish the more ancient episcopal monuments with

cumbent effigies, are the gradual diminution in width of the slab, on which the effigy was sculptured, the simple curved crook of the pastoral staff, and, in general, the plain though dignified appearance of the robes, which were not now so richly embroidered as afterwards.

Many of these early effigies are devoid either of the maniple or stole, and sometimes of both, which appendages are never found wanting on those of a later era. A peculiarity also attending the more ancient effigies is, that they are commonly represented in the act of treading a dragon or serpent under foot, a feat emblematic no doubt of the triumph of the church over the arch-enemy to human salvation.

A well-designed monumental effigy of a bishop, in the Temple Church, London, is of this century. In Salisbury, and most of the other cathedrals, are also cumbent effigies of this period.

Of the sepulchral effigies of ecclesiastics, below those of episcopal or abbatial rank, there are not very many which can be ascribed to an era earlier than the fourteenth century. In the church of Hillmorton, Warwickshire, is the sculptured effigy of a priest, which I conceive to be that of Philip de Astley, the first incumbent, who died about the year 1286; he is represented as bare-headed, and his hands are joined in prayer; he is simply vested in a plain chesible and alb, and a maniple hangs down over his left arm, but no stole is apparent. In Carew Church, Pembrokeshire, is the effigy of a priest in plain robes, very similar in appearance to that at Hillmorton.

Small sculptured figures of angels and ecclesiastics frequently occur on monuments of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and sometimes, though not so often, on those of the thirteenth, on each side of the pillow on which

the head of the effigy reposes. Such appear on the tombs before described, of John, of Lady Berkeley, of Aveline, Countess of Lancaster, and of Edmund Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster. Where angels are thus grouped, they are supposed to convey the idea of the transmission of the soul to heaven.

The monuments and effigies of this century appear to have been sometimes painted; and on some of them a small portion of the colouring may still be discerned, though the greater part is gone. They were also not unfrequently carved of wood; the effigies in Barham Church of Sir Hugh Bardolfe, who died in 1204, in Canterbury Cathedral of Archbishop Peckham, who died in 1292, and in Westminster Abbey of William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, who died in 1296, are of oak, and may be referred to as examples. Some few were cast in metal, as those of Henry the Third, and Eleanor, Queen of Edward the First: marble was occasionally used, but the most common material was freestone.

Inscriptions are rarely met with on monuments of the thirteenth century; those on the tombs of Henry the Third and Eleanor, with some few others, form exceptions, and these are in French, but the letters of which they are composed are Saxon or Lombardic.

To the latter end of this century we may ascribe the erection of those beautiful monumental crosses with a statue of the queen in each, which were erected by Edward the First, at every place where the corpse of his beloved consort Eleanor rested in its progress from Lincolnshire, where she died, to Westminster, where she was interred; these crosses were originally fifteen in number, but those at Geddington, Northampton, and Waltham, are the only

three now remaining. Mr. Gough has remarked, that such memorials as these are unparalleled in any other kingdom; but Philip the Third of France, having returned to that country with the remains of his father, Lewis the Ninth, who died at Tunis, A. D. 1270; of Isabella of Arragon, his wife, who died at Cozenza, in the same year; and of the Count of Nevers, his brother, made a magnificent funeral in honour of them, and, bareheaded, aided in supporting the corpse of his father from Paris to St. Denis; he also erected monumental towers at certain distances upon the road, containing statues, as large as life, of Lewis the Ninth, of the Count of Nevers, of himself, and of Robert, Count of Clermont; these towers, which were about forty feet in height, and erected between the years 1270 and 1286, when Philip himself died, were destroyed in the Revolution at the close of the eighteenth century.



Monument of Edith Astley; in Hillmorton Church, Warwickshire.



Monument of a Priest, in Beverley Minster.
Fourteenth Century.

CHAPTER IX.

OF SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS DURING THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.

IN the fourteenth century English ecclesiastical architecture attained the zenith of comparative perfection. The reigns of the three first Edwards are justly referred to as forming that brilliant epoch in which the *Decorated style*, unequalled for elegance of design and symmetry of proportion, flourished in meridian splendour.

In adverting to the style thus designated, the pleasing emotions which result from the contemplation of the beautiful of other days, are neither distracted by the too frequent repetition of minute architectural detail, and break into numberless subdivisions so characteristic of the *Florid style* of the fifteenth century, nor, on the contrary, do the

structures of this era evince that simplicity, or paucity of decorative embellishment perceivable in earlier productions.

A judicious medium is apparent; a peculiar chasteness of design, and a sufficiency of enriched ornament tastefully adjusted, yet without exuberance, are among its most prominent attractions. All is graceful and imposing; and this style, wherever it predominates, displays a combination of architectural and geometrical science, rarely to be met with elsewhere, and never perhaps excelled. The taste for architectural elegance which then thus happily prevailed, was not confined to the fabrics of religion alone, it extended likewise to the decoration of the tombs therein.

Of these, a much greater variety may be observed than in the preceding ages. Altar or table tombs, with cumbent effigies, are common during the whole of this century; and these sometimes appear beneath splendid pyramidal canopies or flat testoons. At the beginning of this century the custom commenced, and during the latter part of it prevailed, of inlaying flat stones with brasses; and sepulchral inscriptions, though they had not yet become general, are now more frequently to be met with. Considerable changes also took place in the armour and dress, and the fidelity with which the habiliments peculiar to this and every other age are represented on monumental effigies, renders the study of such remains most interesting and useful, not merely to the antiquary, but also to the historian and painter.

In the early part of this century rich tombs were decorated in a similar manner to those erected in the latter part of the previous century. The splendid monuments in Westminster Abbey of Aymer de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, who

died in 1324 ; and in Winchelsea Church, Sussex, of Gervase Alard, bear a very great resemblance in point of design to those of Edward Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, and of Aveline his wife, described in the preceding chapter. The sides of these tombs are relieved with niches surmounted by decorated pediments, and each niche, except those on the tomb of Gervase Alard, contains a small sculptured figure. The same species of decoration, with niches beneath enriched angular pediments, may be observed also on the sides of several other tombs constructed during the early part and middle of this century ;^c but the most remarkable and various features that characterise those above-mentioned are the superb and elegantly proportioned pyramidical arched canopies, which, similar to those before described, appear over the tombs on which the effigies recline.

The difference observable in the construction of these monuments—for though there is a general similarity of style, no two are precisely alike—consists in the disposition of the architectural details and division of the niches, also in the foliations and ornamental tracery of the rich canopied testoons ; for our ancestors, while studying to obtain the same general effect in the composition of their designs, freely exercised a tasteful and judicious fancy in the arrangement and adaptation of the minor component parts, ornamental details, tracery, and mouldings. And, altogether, the tombs just described, with others of similar design, may be esteemed perhaps, as regards the middle ages, the most chaste, elegant, and beautiful remains of English monumental art.

Towards the close of this century, when the transition

^c Vide vignette at the head of the chapter.

from the Decorated to the Florid style,^d which succeeded it, took place, a sensible change in the decoration of tombs may also be observed; the sides of many were covered with a series of narrow sunk pannels, or recesses, with foliated arched heads; these sometimes are found to contain small figures, but have no angular canopies over them, and the basements are ornamented with square foliated compartments, containing shields, or quatrefoils. The tomb in Ingham Church, Norfolk, of Sir Oliver Ingham,^e who died in 1344, and that in St. Mary's Church, Warwick, of Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who died in 1370, are of this description.

Other tombs, about the same period, were decorated along the sides with large square pannelled compartments, richly foliated or quatrefoiled, and containing shields. The tomb in Canterbury Cathedral, of Edward the Black Prince, who died in 1376, may be pointed out as an early instance of the kind; the tomb also in Ingham Church, of Sir Roger and of Margaret de Boys, of this century, is embellished with a series of deeply recessed quatrefoiled compartments, within each of which is a shield, and between these compartments are small canopied niches, containing statues; but tombs with pannelled compartments quatrefoiled are chiefly of the fifteenth century.

The tombs of Edward the Third, who died in 1377, and of Richard the Second, who died in 1399, evince a great

^d In the classification of the different styles of English architecture, that which predominated in the fourteenth century has been generally termed the '*Decorated*;' whilst that which prevailed during the fifteenth century, has commonly been designated as the '*Florid*.' The transition from the one to the other, towards the close of the fourteenth century, was, however, extremely gradual in its operation.

^e Vide vignette at the end of the chapter.

similarity of design; each is raised on a basement of nearly the same height as the tomb itself, and these basements are divided into large square quatrefoiled compartments, within which shields were inserted; those on the tomb of Edward the Third still remain, but those which once ornamented the tomb of Richard the Second have long since disappeared; the sides of each tomb above the basement are covered with rich canopied niches, containing statues, interspersed with pannelled tracery, subdivided by transoms into minute divisions.^f

Flat or horizontal testoons make their appearance over tombs at the latter part of the reign of Edward the Third, but the instances where they occur are not numerous. These appear to have succeeded to the splendid pyramidical canopies of the early part of this century, and may be observed over the tombs of Queen Philippa, wife of Edward the Third, Edward the Black Prince, Edward the Third, and Richard the Second; all these are of wood, but the only one worthy of notice is that over the tomb of Edward the Third: the interior soffit or ceiling is richly groined, and the exterior is decorated on the sides with pendent arches and pannelled tracery, in conformity with the style of the decorations on the tomb itself.

But besides these highly ornamented tombs, the sculptured effigies of less distinguished persons appear, as in the last century, on low altar tombs, without any kind of detailed ornament whatever to distinguish them, except when inserted within the wall of a church, when elegant pointed arches, with rich ogee-shaped canopies, were often

^f The contracts entered into for the construction of the costly tomb of Richard the Second, appear in Rymer's *Fœdera*. They are also published at length in Gough's *Sepulchral Monuments*.

constructed above. The tomb in the church of Douglas, in Scotland, of Sir James Douglas, who died in 1331, is placed with his effigy thereon, under a beautiful arch of this description.

The mode of decorating the sides of tombs during the latter part of the fourteenth century, bears so strong a resemblance, in many respects, to that practised in the fifteenth century, that it is sometimes difficult, from an examination of the tomb alone, even for one well acquainted with the details of each particular style, to ascertain whether the period of its erection was in the latter part of the fourteenth, or whether in the fifteenth century; and when such distinction is difficult, the judgment must be guided by the habiliments, whether warlike or otherwise, in which the effigy is represented; and these, combined with the ornamental decorations on the tomb, furnish, in most instances, a just criterion for our decision.

During the reign of Edward the First no material alteration appears to have been made in the body armour of knights, which, as represented on their monumental effigies, consisted of a hooded hawberk and chausses of rings set edgewise, or of chain mail; over the hawberk the long loose surcoat without sleeves was worn, a band or fillet environed the temples, the knees were protected by poleyns, the prick spur was still affixed to the heel, the shield, of the heater shape, and sword, were generally suspended in the same manner as before; and in most other respects the armour resembled that of the preceding reign, except that suits of chain mail were more common than those of rings set edgewise, and the basinet, a conical scull-cap, was sometimes worn over, or instead of, the hood or coif de mailles.

The effigies in Westminster Abbey, of Edward Crouchback, Earl of Lancaster, who died in 1296, and of William de Valence, Earl of Pembroke, who died in 1307, may be adduced in illustration of the armour of the reign of Edward the First; the former being represented in a suit of chain mail, the latter in armour of rings set edgewise.



Brass Effigy of Sir John de Creke, in Westly Waterless Church, Cambridgeshire.

In the reign of the second Edward, defensive armour assumed a new character; to this period is attributed the introduction of a mixed kind, composed partly of mail and partly of plate; the hawberk and chausses of mail still continued to be worn, but the limbs were further protected by being partially incased in plates of iron or steel.

A suit of complete body armour which exhibits this transition, consisted of a hawberk and chausses of rings

or chain mail, and attached to the upper part of the hawberk, termed the camail, which covered the sides of the face, neck, shoulders, and breast, was the basinet, or conical scull-cap of iron or steel, fastened by an interlaced cord. Brassarts, or convex plates, appear over the sleeves of the hawberk, and cover the outside of the upper part of the arm; circular plates occur in front of the elbows and shoulders; on the hands gauntlets of plate, with the fingers divided, were worn, and sometimes gloves of mail only; but effigies of this period often appear without either; the knees were protected by genouilleres, or ornamented knee-caps, the front of the legs by greaves of plate, buckled over the chausses; the upper part of the feet by moveable lames, and to the heels the rowel spurs were often fastened, instead of the prick spur, which now began to be superseded. The long loose surcoat now seems in most instances to have been discarded, and was succeeded in this reign by the cyclas, an exterior body covering of linen or silk, which differed from the surcoat in being shorter in front than behind, and fitting closer to the body; it was also partially open up the sides. Beneath the cyclas, and over the hawberk, another close vest or garment often appears; this was perhaps the jupon, which, in the latter part of this century, on the disuse of the cyclas, became the exterior body garment. The lower part of the hawberk was shaped so as to form an obtuse angular point in front, and underneath it the haketon, a padded garment, was worn, to sustain the pressure. The shield was fastened to the left arm, and the guige by which it was suspended from the neck crossed the breast over the right shoulder; the scabbard, in which the sword was deposited, was affixed to a broad transverse belt, and both were generally ornamented.

A monumental effigy in Ifield Church, Sussex, and some fine early brasses, which will be presently noticed, exhibit specimens of this kind of mixed armour, and of the cyclas worn instead of the surcoat.

The sepulchral brass in Westly Waterless Church, Cambridgeshire, of Sir John de Creke,^g who died about the middle of the fourteenth century, represents him as armed in the manner above described.

Instances, however, occur of armour of mail without any mixture of plate, and with the long loose surcoat similar to that worn in the preceding reign. *

We may here notice, as almost peculiar to this period, pieces of plate fastened to the shoulders behind, and termed aillettes, or gonfanons; these were introduced in the latter part of the reign of Edward the First, and seem to have been discontinued in that of Edward the Third: instances where they appear are on a very early brass, formerly in Gorleston Church, Suffolk; also on an effigy in Trumington Church, Cambridgeshire: we do not, however, often find them represented on monumental effigies.

Throughout this century a gradual transition from armour of mail to almost complete armour of plate was in progress; but the change to the latter was not effected till the beginning of the fifteenth century. During the early part of the long and warlike reign of Edward the Third, the armour was mostly the same as in the preceding reign, and the cyclas was worn over the hawberk, reaching half way down the thighs in front, and to the calves of the legs behind; this was afterwards superseded in the same reign by the jupon, an exterior military garment of silk, often emblazoned, which covered the hawberk, fitted close to the body, and reached only to the thighs, where

^g Vide vignette, p. 150.

it was cut straight, round, or handsomely bordered. During the latter part of this reign the hawberk was worn with the lower extremities shaped horizontally, and the shoulders were covered with overlapping plates termed *epaulieres*, below which, on the exterior of the upper part of the arm, was the *brassart*, fastened by straps; the elbow was protected by a circular convex plate, and the lower part of the arm was incased in the *avant-bras*, or *vambrace*, a steel covering formed of two pieces joined by hinges; the hands were covered with gauntlets or gloves of plate, the thighs were protected in front by plates of steel, termed *cuisselets*, the knees by *genouilleres*, and the legs were incased in jointed plates of steel, called *jambes* or *jambes*, between which and the insteps were *gussets* of mail, for the convenience of bending the feet, which were furnished with *sollerets*, or steel coverings, the upper part being composed of small *laminæ*, or overlapping pieces of plate; the head was protected by a conical *basinet*,^h appended to which was the *camail*, or *tippet* of mail, which surrounded the neck, and hung down over the shoulders and breast; the sword was fastened to the *bawdrick*, a highly ornamented belt, which went horizontally round the body about the hips, and superseded the diagonal sword-belt strapped in front.

The custom of representing the shield affixed to the left arm, in this reign fell into disuse; and the pressure of the hawberk of mail on the chest was so great, that the *plastron*

^h This was a mere scull-cap, over which, at tournaments, the tilting helme was worn. In war time the *basinet* alone, without the tilting helme, which was heavy and cumbersome, was used, with an *aventaille*, or projecting visor, attached in front, which does not, however, often appear on monumental effigies. A *basinet* of the period of Edward the Third, is preserved in the armoury at Warwick Castle.

de fer, a breast-plate of iron or steel, was placed underneath it to support it.

The effigy in Westminster Abbey, of John of Eltham, Earl of Cornwall, who died in 1334; and that in Ingham Church, Norfolk, of Sir Oliver Ingham, who died in 1343; on both of which the cyclas appears, are good representations of the armour worn in the early part of this reign.



Monumental Effigy in Cantorbury Cathedral, of Edward the Black Prince; ob. 1376.

The effigies in St. Mary's Church, Warwick, of Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who died in 1370; and that in Canterbury Cathedral of Edward the Black Prince, who died in 1376, show the alteration effected during this reign: on both of these the hawberk appears supported by the habergeon, or plastron de fer; the arms, hands, thighs, legs, and feet, were incased in plate; to the basinet of a

conical shape, the camail, or tippet of mail, was attached, over the hawberk, which is straight round the loins; the emblazoned jupon, or short and close body covering, which succeeded the cyclas, is worn, and the sword is fastened to the bawdrick.

No material difference is observable during the reign of Richard the Second; the same kind of mixed armour of mail and plate continued to be adopted. The head and neck were defended by the conical basinet and camail of mail; the hawberk was covered by the jupon, encircling which, about the loins, was the ornamented bawdrick; the shoulders, arms, thighs, and legs, were protected as before by epaulieres, brassarts, elbow-pieces, vambraces, gauntlets, cuissets, genouilleres, jambs, and sollerets of plate.

The engraved brass in South Acre Church, Norfolk, of Sir John Harsick, who died in 1389; and the effigy in Westminster Abbey, of Sir Bernard Brocas, who died in 1399, may be adduced as illustrative examples.

Such were the different kinds of body armour, which, with some exceptions, were pretty generally adopted and worn at the periods thus assigned to them throughout the fourteenth century.

About the same time that the long loose military garments worn over the armour fell into disuse, considerable alterations were effected in female apparel; and the long loose gown, hitherto in fashion, gave place to one more adapted to the shape.

In the early part of this century the female attire was composed, as before, of the coif, hood or veil, and wimple, covering the head, neck, and chin; on the body a long loose gown was worn, over which was the cloak or mantle. This fashion probably changed early in the reign of Edward

the Third, when the dress consisted of the *surcote*,¹ a tight bodiced gown, conforming to the shape down to the waist, and sometimes buttoned in front, and thence depending in folds to the feet; the sides of this being hollowed out from the armpits to the hips, partially disclose the vest or garment worn underneath, which fitted close, with long tight sleeves buttoned from the wrist to the elbow; over all was a long loose mantle or cloak, fastened across the breast from each shoulder by cordons; the head attire was reticulated, or composed of a cap of protuberant fretwork^k or netted drapery, in which the hair was braided or inclosed, and the throat and neck were left open and exposed.

The coif and wimple were sometimes worn with the close-bodied gown or *surcote*, and thus presents a combination of the early head and later body dress.

Towards the close of this century, a robe or gown drawn tight round the body from the breast to the waist by means of a lace in front, was sometimes worn; and, in the reign of Richard the Second, high head attire, piked out with horns on each side, and long trained gowns, were introduced by his consort, the Queen Ann of Luxemburgh.

In Cobham Church, near Rochester, the inlaid brass of Joan de Cobham, who died in 1354, represents her attired in a veil or hood, covering the head, and falling down on each side to the shoulders; the neck, chin, and sides of the face, are concealed by the wimple or gorget, and the body dress consists of a long loose gown, with short sleeves, reaching only to the elbows, from whence

¹ The bodiced gown of the fourteenth century is thus denominated by Chaucer, and other contemporary writers.

^k "A fret of gold she had next her here."—Chaucer.

"— And everiche on her here

A rich fret of gold."—Ibid.

the long sleeves of the under robe are visible, buttoned tight down to the wrists.

The effigy of Blanch de la Tour, daughter of Edward the Third, who died in 1340, exhibits the costume of a female of rank in the middle of this century; her dress consists of the surcote, or bodiced gown, hollowed out at the sides, and conforming close to the shape down to the hips, below which it descends in loose folds; the sleeves of the under vest fit tight, and are buttoned or fastened from the elbows to the wrists, by rows of jewels; the bodice also is richly studded down in front. The mantle, or cloak, is fastened across the breast, by cordons attached on either side to a fermail of jewels, placed in front of each shoulder. She is likewise represented in the reticulated head dress, and with her neck bare and exposed.

Examples of the dress laced in front may be observed on the effigies of Queen Philippa, who died in 1369, and of Catherine, wife of Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick.

But besides cumbent effigies of the natural size, the smaller figures placed within the lateral niches of tombs exhibit faithful representations of the different female habits worn during the fourteenth century; and these evince the change of fashion to have been extremely gradual in its operation, since from them it is clear that the alterations in dress, both from the loose robe to that fitting close, as also the head attire, and other particulars, did not altogether prevail to the exclusion of the more ancient fashions, until nearly the close of this century.

Thus on the tomb, in Reepham Church, Norfolk, of Sir Roger de Kerdeston, who died in 1337, among several figures representing his relations, are those of four females, each differently habited. The first has the neck and chin concealed by the wimple or gorget, and the head covered

with a hood which falls down to the shoulders; on the body is a loose robe or gown, the short sleeves of which reach only half way down the arm, and expose to view the tight fitting sleeves of the under vest, which are buttoned close up to the wrists; and over the gown a mantle or cloak, though without any fastening, is worn. The second appears with the neck and chin exposed, a hood on the head, like to that of the first; a gown fitting to the shape, buttoned in front from the breast to the waist, with short and tight sleeves, and long and narrow lappets attached to them, hanging down. The third appears also with the neck and chin exposed, a hood on the head, and a gown with long and close sleeves; whilst the fourth is clad in a coif and wimple, hood or veil, depending to the shoulders, and a loose-bodied gown, with long sleeves, fitting tight, and buttoned up to the wrists; and over this is worn a mantle or cloak, fastened in front across the breast by tasselled cordons.

Numerous figures of both sexes occupy also the recessed compartments which surround the tomb of Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and these show more minutely the particular variations of fashion in the body and head dresses of the latter part of this era.

It was unusual, at this period, to represent cumbent effigies of males, except those of royal personages and ecclesiastics, otherwise than in armour. By a reference, however, to the small sculptured figures which adorn the sides of tombs, we become acquainted with their ordinary costume

On an examination of these, it will appear that the dress generally consisted of a short coat, vest, or doublet, buttoned down in front, with tight sleeves; this fitted close to the body, and reached to the middle of the thighs, and was

girt horizontally about the hips by an ornamented belt or bawdrick; below this were hosen, like pantaloons, fitting tight to the shape; and on the feet embroidered shoes were worn; the exterior garment was commonly a long cloak or mantle, fastened on the right shoulder, and opening down that side, and this is sometimes represented on sculptured effigies gracefully thrown aside across the left breast and shoulder.

The cumbent effigy in York Cathedral, of William of Hatfield, second son of Edward the Third; and that in Westminster Abbey, of William of Windsor, another son of Edward the Third, who died young, represent them as both thus habited.

In the same kind of habiliments are some of the small figures on the sides of the tomb of Thomas Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, and the garments of other male figures on the same tomb consist of long coats buttoned in front, with tight sleeves, with the cloak or mantle fastened at the shoulder, and open at the side, worn over

The short coat or doublet and tight hosen thus described, were also worn with short cloaks over them, with or without hoods, buttoned down in front, and reaching only to the thighs; figures in this attire decorate the tomb of Sir Roger de Kerdeston.

Throughout the fourteenth century, especially during the reigns of Edward the Third and Richard the Second, the foreign trade of England exhibits a state of very considerable progression, and a vast increase of wealth having accrued thereby to the burgesses of the chief commercial towns, they began to acquire also a more important station and influence in society than they had hitherto enjoyed.

One of the results hence arising is apparent in their

sepulchral memorials, which, about the middle of the reign of Edward the Third, first present their effigies, either sculptured or of brass inlaid. Of these monuments, however, there are but few of a date prior to the fifteenth century.

In St. Margaret's Church, at Lynne, is a very large and highly-finished brass, containing three engraved portraitures of the natural size, and commemorative of Robert Braunch, a burgess of that town, who died in 1364, and of his two wives, Letitia and Margaret. His habit shows the dress of a merchant of that period, and consists of a long close coat, slit in front from about the middle of the thighs downwards, with sleeves fitting tight, and a standing cape; on the feet are pointed shoes, fastened on the instep with a lace or latchet, and the hair is long and flowing.

The sculptured effigy of William Delapole, a celebrated merchant, and the first Mayor of Hull, who died in 1367, appears beneath a rich canopied arch in Trinity Church, Hull, and represents him bareheaded, with flowing locks, clad in a long coat with close sleeves, buttoned from the elbows to the wrists, and confined round the waist by a girdle, from which a whittle or knife is suspended; over this is worn a mantle, buttoned up at the neck, but open below so as to display the coat; and the feet, on which are plain pointed shoes, rest against a lion.

The increased costliness in dress, during this century, was carried to such an extent, that sumptuary laws were now first enacted to restrain the people from the too general usage of expensive apparel; and by a statute passed in the thirty-seventh year of the reign of Edward the Third, the restrictions imposed upon each one, according to his rank and condition, were specified;—thus, merchants and artificers who had £500 value in goods and chattels, might use

the same dress as esquires and gentlemen of £100 per annum; and those who were worth £1000 and upwards, might dress like esquires of £200 per annum.

The sculptured effigies of ecclesiastics represent them habited in those peculiar vestments in which the priesthood were arrayed, when about to officiate at mass. On engraved brasses, however, they appear not unfrequently in canonical habits of a different description from that pertaining to the altar.

To Gregory the Great, Pope of Rome, from A. D. 590 to A. D. 604, may be ascribed, if not the institution of the Canon of the Mass, the revision at least of the Romish Liturgy, and the introduction of a more regular system of church service than had before been in use: he is said to have ordained the order of processions; and to him likewise the variety and change of the sacerdotal vestments, some of which, however, may be traced to a much earlier period, is attributed.

This Pontiff is stated by Bede to have sent into Britain to Augustine such articles as were necessary for the due performance of public worship, amongst which he mentions attire for the clergy,¹ which can be understood to mean no other than the habiliments constituting that particular dress worn at the celebration of mass, and in which the clergy of the Romish church still continue to be vested; so that from the establishment of Christianity in Britain by Augustine, down to the Reformation, the dress worn by the priest at the altar underwent no change in the variety and form of the several vestments of which it was composed, though certain slight variations in fashion and costliness may be

¹ "Quæ ad cultum erant ac ministerium ecclesiæ necessaria, vasa videlicet sacra et vestimenta altarium, ornamenta quoque ecclesiarum, et sacerdotalis vel clericæ indumenta."—Bede, *Ecc. Hist.* Lib. i. c. xxix.

observed, which distinguish the sacerdotal robes of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, from those of an earlier era.

Of the ecclesiastical dress, as worn in the tenth and following century, we have fac-simile representations in the works of Strutt, copied from illuminated manuscripts of those ages; and in these the clergy are delineated, clad in the same peculiar vestments as those of later ages; and it appears that the alb, stole, maniple, and chesible, then formed part of their costume.

Amongst the ecclesiastical constitutions of Wynchelsea, Archbishop of Canterbury, from A. D. 1294, to A. D. 1313, there is one in which the books, sacred utensils and furniture, and the sacerdotal vestments necessary for the use of a parish church, are severally enumerated. Of the latter some of the most gorgeous, as the '*Vestimentum principale*,'^m were worn only on high days or feasts; those particularly specified are the chesible, dalmatic, tunic, and the cope, together with their appendages, which are said by Lyndwood to have consisted of amices, albs, girdles, maniples, and stoles; besides these were three surplices for the ecclesiastics of the different grades attendant on the service of the church, namely, for the priest, deacon, and sub-deacon; and a rochet without sleeves to be worn by the priest, when administering the rite of baptism, that on dipping the infant into the font his arms might not be impeded.ⁿ

^m This was the chesible, which was oftentimes so called, and in the churchwardens' accounts of St. Martin's, Leicester, for the year 1553, the following item occurs;—'Receivid of Nycoles Gassun, of Nottingham, for ij coppes, i *vesement*, and ij tenakyles of clothe of tesshew; i *vestmēt*, and ij tenkyls of clothe of silver, and ij coppes and i *vesement* of blew velvet, xviii l.'

ⁿ Lyndwood Provinciale, &c. Lib. iii. De ecclesiis edificandis.

The *cope* is never represented on the *sculptured* sepulchral effigies of bishops or priests; it was not a vestment worn at the celebration of mass,^o but chiefly for processional and other occasions; and in the mass habit alone we always find those effigies sculptured. On engraved brasses, however, ecclesiastics, particularly those belonging to collegiate establishments, are sometimes portrayed in the *cope*.

A bishop about to officiate at mass, after divesting himself of his ordinary garments, proceeded to robe himself in the sacred habit in the following manner: first, the *sandals* were fastened on his feet, he then put on the *amice*, and after that the *alb*, which was kept close about the loins by the *girdle*; the *stole* was then placed over his shoulders, and was crossed in front of the breast down to the girdle, from whence the extremities hung suspended; he then clad himself in the *tunic*, over which he wore the *dalmatic*; *gloves* were then drawn over his hands, and a *ring* placed on one of the fingers; he was then vested in the *chesible*, and after that with the *maniple*, which hung over his left arm; the *mitre* was then raised upon his head; and, lastly, he received the *pastoral staff*.

An archbishop was arrayed, in addition to these, with that emblem of dignity, the *pall*, and in lieu of the pastoral staff carried a *crozier*.

Priests were attired only in certain of these articles, which were the *amice*, *alb*, *girdle*, *stole*, *maniple*, and *chesible*; whilst the rest, namely, the stockings, or hose, and sandals, *tunic*, *dalmatic*, *gloves*, *ring*, *mitre* and *pastoral*

^o "Sacerdos enim extra tempus misse dum exercet divina officia presertim dum ministrat incensum altare vel dicit collectas utitur capa."—Lyndwood.

staff, were specially worn by bishops and other high dignitaries, as abbots and priors.^p

To these several vestments, composing the sacred garb, and which will be described in detail, certain mystical and typical significations were attached by the early writers on the ceremonies of the church.^q

And first, of the stockings and sandals, the former of which extended to the knees, and the latter were often ornamented; these, according to Durand, were considered emblematical of the preparation of the gospel of peace.

The amice was a kind of head covering, the lower extremities of which were worn beneath the other vestments, and it was fastened in front over the breast by means of bands, or strings. It was anciently worn upon the head, like a hood, until the priest arrived at the altar, when it was thrown back upon the shoulder. Durand asserts that it was esteemed as a type of the veil with which the Jews blindfolded Jesus when they said unto him, Prophesy! and it is said to have been introduced in the eighth century.^r This particular vestment cannot often be

^p "Porro sex instrumenta sacerdotibus et episcopis communia sunt hec, Amictus, Alba, Zona seu Cingulum, Stola, Manipulus, Planeta; novem vero pontificibus specialia sunt hec Calige, Sandalia, Succinctorium, Tunica, Dalmatica, Cirothecel, Mitra, Annulus, Baculus Pastoralis."—Durand, *Rat. Div. Off.*

^q In Durand's '*Rationale Divinorum Officiorum*,' are several chapters on the different ecclesiastical vestments; but by far the greater part of these are taken up in mystical allusions and significations; and this work altogether justifies the remark of Dupin, who, in treating of the ecclesiastical writers of the thirteenth century, observes, that the authors who wrote upon the rites and ceremonies of the church, only busied themselves in seeking and inventing mystical reasons, which they made the subject of their work.

^r Rock's *Hierurgia*, vol. ii. p. 613.—"The amice worn by the priesthood of the Romish Church, at the present day, is a piece of fine linen in the form of an oblong square."—*Ibid.* "In it we see the origin of the ancient canonical hood, and of that used by the Clergy of the Church of England."

clearly distinguished on sepulchral effigies; but, on the monumental figure of a priest in the north transept of Beverley Minster, the amice very plainly appears covering the back part of the head, like a hood.

After the amice comes the alb; this was a long linen garment or tunic with sleeves, reaching to the ancles, which received its name, '*alba*,' from being anciently of a white colour; but it also went by other names, as '*camisia*,' '*poderis*,' '*talaris*.'^a It was common to almost all the grades of ecclesiastics, and was said to be a type of the shining robe in which Christ was mocked by Herod;^t and it was girt round the body, to signify the keeping under of all carnal affections. The lower part of the alb was anciently ornamented with a piece of scarlet stuff attached to it.

The zone, or girdle, mystically signified continence, and was used to bind the alb about the loins, lest the flowings of the latter garment might impede the priest in his motions.

When the bishop or priest was arrayed in the alb, with its girdle, he next put over his neck the '*orarium*,' or stole; this was a long and narrow scarf with fringed extremities, that crossed the breast to the girdle, and thence depended in front on both sides as low as the knees. It was one of the most ancient vestments used by the Christian Clergy,^u and in its mystical signification it represented the yoke of Christ, whence the priest at his ordination was thus addressed by the bishop, "*Accipe Jugum Dei, Jugum enim ejus suave est, et onus ejus leve. Suave in prosperis, leve in adversis.*"

The bishop having vested himself with the stole, put on the tunic or tunicle, a short linen garment or frock, reach-

^a Du Cange.

^t Durand, Rat. Div. Off.

^u Palmer's Origines Liturgicæ, vol. ii. p. 317.

ing to the knees, and typical of that of our Lord, for which the soldiers, at his crucifixion, cast lots.

Over the tunic the bishop wore the dalmatic: this was a garment with broad sleeves, which received its name, according to Lyndwood, from its having first originated in Dalmatia,^x whence it was introduced into the church by Pope Sylvester. It was open at the sides from underneath the armpits downwards, and the borders, both in the front and behind, were fringed

After the dalmatic was put on, gloves were drawn over the hands of the bishop, and these represented the skins of the kids with which Rebecca covered the hands of Jacob when he went to receive his father's blessing.

The episcopal ring was placed on the middle finger of the right hand, and this was a sign or token of his espousal with the church.

The bishop or priest was then vested with the casula, planeta, or chesible, an outer vestment with many folds, that hung down in front and behind, and was rounded at the extremities. Anciently, it was a large mantle, which, when extended, formed a perfect circle, unbroken by any incision, and completely enveloped the body, so that to enable the priest who wore it to exercise his arms, it was necessary that it should be gathered up and folded on either side, and thus it assumed the form and numerous folds in which we see it represented. The gradual abridgment in flowing dimensions and amplitude of folds may be observed on comparing the monumental effigies of ecclesiastics of the twelfth and thirteenth, with those of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.^y This garment, which was used only

^x Lyndwood, lib. iii.

^y This vestment, as used in the Romish church, at the present day, differs from the ancient chesible, it being fashioned open at the sides, and therefore requires no folding.

at the solemnization of mass, was the principal vestment then worn; it had only one aperture for the head to pass through; and when, at the celebration of mass, the sides were lifted up, the front and back remained pendant. Durand remarks that it was typical of the purple robe in which the soldiers arrayed Jesus, and that it mystically signified charity; and by the separation of the anterior part from that behind, on the holding up of the arms, the two great principles of charity were designated, 'Love to God,' and 'Love to our neighbour.'

Over the left arm of the bishop or priest, on his approaching the altar to officiate, the maniple, or sudarium, sometimes also called the fanon, was hung; this was originally a napkin or stripe of linen, but gradually became a narrow embroidered scarf of the same width, though not near so long, as the stole, and, like that, the extremities were fringed. It mystically represented the rope with which Jesus was bound when he was taken by the Jews to the High Priest. At the celebration of mass, when the deacon received from the sub-deacon the paten containing the host, he held it with the maniple interposed between the paten and his fingers.

The bishop being thus arrayed, the mitre was placed upon his head, and from this were the vittæ or infulæ, two narrow lists or latches, depending behind. The mitre was held to designate the two testaments, the horn in front the new, and that behind the old. The double-pointed mitre does not appear to have been introduced as an episcopal ornament before the ninth or tenth century; and the most ancient mitres were very low and simple, being not more than from three to six inches in elevation, and they thus continued till the end of the thirteenth century. In the fourteenth century the mitre gradually increased in

loftiness to the height of a foot or more, and became enriched and superbly ornamented: their contours present also a degree of convexity by which they may be distinguished from the more ancient mitres, the contours of which were depressed. Abbots were allowed to wear the mitre, and sometimes even priors.

Lastly, the bishop received the pastoral staff, in allusion to his becoming a shepherd over the flock of Christ. This was anciently curved at the top in a simple crook, and thus continued till the twelfth century, after which it gradually became ornamented, and in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the top and crook, and sometimes the whole of the staff, were richly carved and decorated.

The pastoral staff has been often confounded with the *crozier*; the latter was, however, essentially different in form, being a staff headed with a cross instead of a crook, and this was carried by the archbishops, being peculiar to their rank, and as such is to be met with on their monuments only.

Another outward mark of distinction between the dress of archbishops and bishops was the pall, worn only by the former; this was early sent into this country, as a special mark of favour, by Gregory to Augustine, the first archbishop of the British Church. It consisted of a narrow fillet or band, of white woollen cloth, woven from the finest fleece, and so shaped as to be worn encompassing the shoulders, whence it was sometimes called the *superhumerales*, with a list or latchet of the same width hanging down before and behind over the chesible, to which it was affixed by pins, and adorned with crosses. ^z

^z Further information on the subject of ecclesiastical vestments may be acquired by referring to the following works:—Durand's *Rationale*, &c.—King on the Greek Church.—Palmer's *Origines Liturgicæ*.—Rock's *Hierurgia*.

The sculptured effigy in Canterbury Cathedral, of Archbishop Stratford, who died in 1348, and the inlaid brass figure in Westminster Abbey, of Waldeby, Archbishop of York, who died in 1397, are specimens illustrative of the pontificals of metropolitan bishops.



Monumental Brass in Westminster Abbey, of Robert Waldeby, Archbishop of York. Ob. 1397.

The effigy of the former is somewhat mutilated; he is represented in his alb, the lower part of which is ornamented; over this, and from beneath the tunic, the fringed extremities of the stole appear; over the tunic, which is plain, is the dalmatic, with broad sleeves and fringed borders; a richly ornamented maniple, the extremities of which are also fringed, hangs over the left arm; above the dalmatic appears the chesible, with a standing collar or cape, richly embroidered; over the chesible, and affixed to

it by three ornamental pins, one in front of each shoulder, and one in front of the waist, is the pall; under the right arm appears the staff of the crozier, the head of which is broken; the upper part of the mitre is also broken, and the hands, which were covered with gloves, and the feet, on which were sandals, are mutilated.

The brass of Archbishop Waldeby is perfect; he appears in his sandals, alb, an ornamented stole, with fringed extremities, a plain tunic, a fringed dalmatic, an embroidered maniple, a chesible, with a standing cape or collar, and a pall, adorned in front with six crosses pattée fitché, and with a pendant lamina of lead rounded at the bottom; on his head is the mitre, on his hands are gloves, with the episcopal ring on the middle finger of his right hand, which is raised with two fingers extended in the act of benediction, whilst in the left the crozier is held.

The effigies of bishops and abbots appear arrayed in the same manner, with the exception of the pall, and with the pastoral staff instead of the crozier.

Ecclesiastics of episcopal and abbatial rank are generally represented on their tombs with the right hand upraised, as if giving the benediction, the fourth and little finger being closed, and with the pastoral staff in the left hand.

A few instances occur where the pastoral staff is held in the right hand; the hands are sometimes crossed on the breast downwards, or joined together as in prayer.

The tombs of priests, and the lower orders of ecclesiastics, were seldom distinguished otherwise than by crosses of different heraldic devices. Sculptured effigies of the parochial clergy are, however, sometimes to be met with; and in the succeeding century inlaid brasses of priests in their sacerdotal vestments, or canonical habits, are by no means uncommon.

The cross-legged attitude of effigies in armour was not discontinued till about the middle of the reign of Edward the Third. The general posture was recumbent; the head was sometimes supported by small figures of angels; the hands were joined on the breast; and the legs stretched out straight, with the feet resting against a lion. Edward the Black Prince is the first represented with his head protected by a basinet, reposing on the tilting helme, worn in tournaments over the basinet; and such soon became the usual practice, and one which continued till the close of the sixteenth century.

If the person represented was of rank, the basinet was encircled with a coronet, as in the instances of John of Eltham, Earl of Cornwall, who died in 1334, and of Edward the Black Prince.

Females appear with their heads reposing on double pillows, which are often supported by angels; their feet rest against dogs, and their hands are upraised on the breast, as in prayer.

Rich decorated canopies were sometimes constructed just above the heads of the effigies, as on the tombs of Edward the Third, and his consort Philippa.

Two cumbent effigies, namely, those of a man and his wife, were occasionally placed side by side on the same tomb. An early instance of this kind occurs in Wolvey Church, Warwickshire, where the effigies of Thomas de Wolvey, who died early in the fourteenth century, and of Aliæ his wife, are sculptured on the same slab: in the preceding century such was not the case, and in this the custom only partially prevailed, but in the ensuing century it became common.

Engraved effigies of brass, inlaid on slabs, are seldom to be met with prior to the reign of Edward the Second;

nor did they become general till towards the close of this century. In the most ancient of these brasses the effigies are sometimes represented with the legs crossed, and in armour of ring or chain mail; but such instances are rare.

Amongst the early brasses may be enumerated one in Acton Church, Suffolk, representing Robert de Buers; one in Stoke Dabernon Church, Surrey, representing Sir John D'aubernoun; a brass in Minster Church, Isle of Sheepy; and a brass in Gorleston Church, Suffolk. That in Acton Church is cross-legged, and presents the hooded hawberk and chausses of chain mail, unmixed with armour of plate, the genouilleres excepted; over this is the long loose surcoat without sleeves; the sword and shield are suspended as usual, and to the heels were affixed the short prick spur by a single leather each. On the other three, mixed armour of mail and plate appear; the two former of these exhibits the cyclas, rather loose below the hips, the latter has a short surcoat, and shows a gradation between the long loose surcoat and cyclas; and the legs of the two latter effigies are crossed.

Brass effigies of this era, with the exception of those the most ancient, are surmounted by arched canopies, ogee-shaped, and crocketed, of the same kind of inlaid work elaborately graven.

The round uncial Lombardic or Saxon letters continued to be used in monumental inscriptions till towards the close of this century, about which period they were superseded by the black letter, Old English or Gothic characters, an early instance of the adoption of which appears on the tomb, in Staunton Church, Nottinghamshire, of Sir William de Staunton, who died in 1326. The epitaphs were in French or Latin, for English sepulchral inscriptions do not occur prior to the fifteenth century.

Latin inscriptions generally commenced with '*Ætæ factæ,*' or '*Orate pro anima;*' and, after stating the name of the person, the day and year in which he died, and other particulars, commonly ended with, '*Cujus animæ propicietur Deus. Amen.*' Many of the words were often abbreviated, and the numerals were designated by letters, and not figures.

Those in French most frequently began with '*En l'An,*' and concluded with '*De qu' alme Dieu est mercy.*'

There are some curious tombs of this century, where the bust and feet only of the effigy appear, emerging, as it were, from beneath a slab hollowed out at the upper and lower extremities for that purpose; the rest of the body being apparently concealed by the slab, on which the shield and tilting helmet are sculptured in relief.

Of this description is the monument before alluded to, of Sir William de Staunton; it consists of a slab, chiselled out of the top like the ancient stone coffins, with a circular cavity for the head; the effigy appears in relief in a hooded hawberk, and gloves of chain-mail, but below the breast the whole of the body is concealed, except the feet, which appear in a trefoliated compartment chiselled in the slab; round the verge is a Latin inscription, and on the middle of the slab, carved in relief, is the tilting helme, a very early instance, and shield.

The monumental slab in Brize Norton Church, Oxfordshire, of John Daubynyne, who died in 1346, is of a similar design, though the details in armour are somewhat different.

In many churches there is a monumental arch or recess, formed within the thickness of the north wall of the chancel, over what appears to be a low altar tomb, without either effigy or inscription. This was the place where the *holy sepulchre*, typical of the tomb hewn out of the rock,

wherein the body of Jesus was laid, was anciently set up; and at Easter the Resurrection of our Lord was solemnly commemorated by certain religious rites or ceremonies representing that event, performed at this particular spot. On Good Friday, the host and crucifix were carried in procession through the church to the north side of the chancel,^a and deposited in the sepulchre^b there erected, which was generally a moveable structure or shrine, prepared for the occasion; the door of the sepulchre was then shut,^c and on that and the following night watched by persons appointed for that purpose, in imitation of the soldiers set to guard the body of Christ; and early on Easter morning the host and crucifix were removed with great solemnity, the priest at the same time pronouncing the words, '*Surrexit non est hic.*'^d

In old parochial accounts, charges frequently occur of payments made to persons for watching the sepulchre, and for the wax lights and tapers burnt before it; and among the constitutions for the office of deacon in Trinity Church, Coventry, A. D. 1462, one is, that "he shall watch the sepulchur on Astur evyn till the resurecion be don."

Owing to the construction of the sepulchre, which was chiefly of wood, and painted, and taken away from the

^a "Processio eat per ostium occidentale usque ad locum prime stacionis que ex parte ecclesie boreali erit."—M.S. Pen. Auc.

^b "Deinde exuat sacerdos casulam, et assumit secum crucem de prelati discalciatum in superpellicio et reponit crucem in sepulchro, deinde corpus Domini, sed in pixide, in eodem sepulchro."—Ibid.

^c "Deinde incensato sepulchro, et ostio clauso."—Ibid.

^d "In die Pasche ante matutinam et ante campanarum pulsationem conveniant omnes clerici ad ecclesiam et accendantur luminaria per ecclesiam. Episcopus et decanus, vel duo excellentiores presbyteri in superpellicis cum ceroferariis et thuribulo et clero ad sepulchrum accedant et incensato prius sepulchro cum magna veneratione et reverentia (videlicet genuflectendo) statim post purificationem corpus Domini privatim super altare deponant. Iterum accipiant crucem de sepulchro."—*Breviarium ad insignis Sarisburiensis ecclesie usum.* ed. 1556.

arched recess it occupied at a certain period after Easter,* the altar substructure and the arch above are generally the only vestiges remaining.

But the sepulchre was sometimes irremoveable, and constructed of stone of rich tabernacle work, with sculptured figures in relief, illustrative of the Resurrection.

A very perfect and fine specimen of the holy sepulchre, thus embellished, is in the parish church of Heckington, in Lincolnshire.

On the north side of Kingsland Church, Herefordshire, is a small building called the Volkre's chamber, within which, out of the thickness of the wall, an arch is formed over a kind of altar, with an open window at the back of four lights, for the convenience of those within the church; and on this altar the holy sepulchre was anciently placed.

The position which the holy sepulchre in Bilton Church, Warwickshire, formerly occupied, is indicated by an elegant and enriched ogee-shaped arch in the north wall of the chancel; near to it is a low door, through which access was obtained to a small building adjoining the chancel, of which no other vestiges now remain, the building having been entirely demolished, probably early in the seventeenth century, when the church underwent considerable repairs.

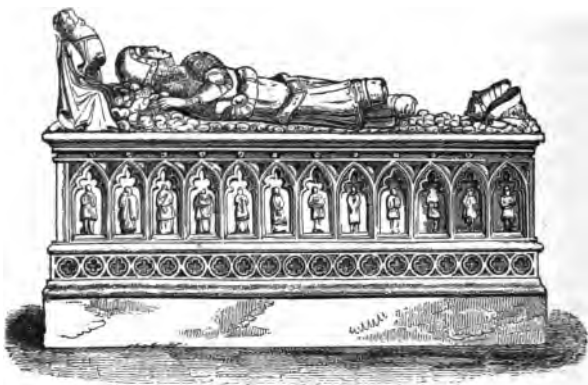
At Cubbington Church, in the same county, the substructure of the sepulchre consists of a low raised altar or tomb in the north wall, under a plain pointed elliptic-shaped arch, devoid of sculpture or ornament.

The holy sepulchre was sometimes erected on a real, and not an imaginary tomb. On the south side of the Clopton chapel or chantry, adjoining the north side of the

* "Et notandum est quod sepulchrum domini statit continue in loco suo ab hac die usque ad proximam seriam et tunc ante missam amoveatur."—M.S. Pen. Auct.

chancel of Milford Church, Suffolk, and under an open arch formed through the entire thickness of the wall, and open to the chancel, is the altar tomb of John Clopton, who died 1497, and on this was placed the moveable sepulchre at Easter.

The custom of watching the sepulchre, and other ceremonies connected therewith, though generally discontinued at the Reformation, was revived during the reign of Mary; but early in the reign of Elizabeth, it was, on the change of religion, with other rites, again discontinued.



Monument of Sir Oliver Ingham, in Ingham Church, Norfolk. 1344.
From Neale's *Parochial Churches*.



Monument in Meriden Church, Warwickshire. Temp. Henry VI.

CHAPTER X.

OF SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS DURING THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

THE chasteness and elegance of design which so pre-eminently characterised the architectural structures of the fourteenth century, was succeeded in the fifteenth by a style of composition remarkable for the profusion and display of minute ornament, and almost endless subdivision of detail. Throughout this century, indeed, the attention paid to the memorials of departed greatness was such, that, judging from the costly and elaborate manner in which they were executed, no preceding or subsequent era will be found

to have exceeded, in this respect, the excessive splendour and richness of decoration which distinguish the monumental remains of this age.

Of these, the beautiful sepulchral chapels which are almost peculiar to this and the early part of the sixteenth century, claim our first attention; other monuments of this era consist principally of altar tombs, with or without cumbent effigies, and often richly canopied; flat stones inlaid with engraved brasses; and low tombs with alabaster slabs, on which figures cut in outline are delineated.

From the practice which prevailed in the twelfth and following century, amongst wealthy and influential individuals, of bequeathing their bodies to some particular church for interment, with donations of a more substantial nature,^f originated the foundation of altars, exclusive of that in the chancel, at which masses might be sung for the repose of the dead: the portion of the church thus set apart, which was generally the east end of one of the aisles, was then denominated a chantry; in it the tomb of the founder was commonly placed, and it was separated from the rest of the church by a latticed screen or division, traces of which still remain in some of our ancient churches.

In the fourteenth century this custom greatly increased; and small additional side-aisles, or transepts, were often annexed to churches, endowed, indeed, as chantries, but erected also for the purpose of sepulture; and these contained the tombs of the founder, and others of his family, there buried.

^f In the Cartulary of the Abbey of Meaux, written in the years 1396—7, a list of the persons is preserved who gave lands to that abbey, on condition of being buried there. A copy of this list is published in Part I. of the *Collectanea Topographica*, and the following is a specimen of the entries:—'Wilhelmus Pasmere dedit nobis, cum corpore suo sepeliendo quedam tenementa in hedone.'

Hence arose the construction, about the close of the same century, of small mortuary chapels, or chantries, between the lofty piers of cathedral and conventual churches. Such are the chantries in Winchester Cathedral of William of Wyckham, Bishop of Winchester, who died in 1404, and of Cardinal Beaufort and Bishop Waynflete, the two prelates who succeeded Wyckham, the former of whom died in 1447, and the latter in 1480.

These small sepulchral chapels, which were neither capacious enough or designed to contain more than a single tomb, and in most instances appropriated to ecclesiastics of episcopal rank, were of exceeding costly workmanship; the sides were composed of tabernacle or screen work, elaborately sculptured, and covered both within and on the exterior with ornamental niches and pannelled tracery, much of which was pierced, and the canopied ceiling or roof was also richly groined. In the internal arrangement of these chapels the tomb was placed in the midst, at the east end an altar was constructed, at which mass might be celebrated,^g and in the south-east corner was a piscina.

Such sepulchral sacella were often erected in the lifetime of, and by, the very persons whose remains and tombs they were afterwards destined to receive.

Of the larger mortuary chapels attached to conventual

^g The sacrifice of the Mass, as celebrated in the Romish church, was of two kinds, differing chiefly in the ceremonies, which were more numerous, solemn, and imposing, at High than at Low Mass. High Mass was performed at the altar in the chancel or choir, thence, and from its elevation, called the high altar; and at it, besides the priest, a deacon, and subdeacon, with lectors and acolytes, were accustomed to minister or assist. At Low Mass, of which kind most private masses, and masses for the dead consisted, the priest, accompanied by one attendant only, was requisite; nor was it deemed necessary that there should be any other communicant; a fact which gave rise to the sarcastic observation of the Martyrologist, Fox, in his comment on the Canon of the Mass, "Sir John (the Priest,) is kinne to the tide, he will tarry for no man, if he have a boy to say amen, it is enough."

buildings, those most worthy of attention are—the Beauchamp Chapel, adjoining the church of St. Mary, at Warwick, which contains several monuments, and was erected in the reign of Henry the Sixth; Henry the Seventh's Chapel, Westminster Abbey; and the Tomb-house adjoining St. George's Chapel, Windsor, built by Cardinal Wolsey. Besides these, to many cathedral and large churches smaller chantry chapels, used also for sepulchral purposes, were annexed.

A certain variety is apparent in the designs of tombs of this era, which may be classed as follows :—

First, Such as approach in style of composition the tombs of Edward the Third and Richard the Second, and exhibit their sides covered with rich canopied niches for statues, intermixed with pannelled tracery; some of these partake so much of the characteristics common to tombs of the latter part of the preceding century, that it is sometimes difficult to point out any striking dissimilarity between them. Of this description are the splendid monuments in Canterbury Cathedral of Henry the Fourth, who died in 1412; in Staindrop Church, Durham, of Ralph Neville, Earl of Westmoreland, who died in 1425; and in the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick, of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who died in 1439.

Secondly, Those tombs, the sides whereof are embellished with recesses or niches for statues, surmounted by ogee canopies, crocketed, and divided only by small buttresses, the spaces between the canopied heads of the niches being filled with panneling. Of such is the tomb of William of Wyckham; the sides are covered with arched recesses, divided by small buttresses; the heads of the arches are cusped or foliated, and surmounted by ogee-shaped canopies, and the spaces intervening between the canopies are filled with narrow arched pannels, trefoil-headed. The tomb

in Arundel Church, Sussex, of Thomas Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, who died in 1415, and of his Countess, Beatrix, is of the same description, though much richer in design than that of Wyckham, and has a small sculptured figure within each of the niches.

Thirdly, Such as present their sides covered with a series of narrow arched pannels, cusped or foliated in the heads : exemplars of these may be seen on the tomb in Newbold Church, Warwickshire, of Geoffry Allesley, who died in 1401 ; on that in St. Saviour's Church, Southwark, of Gower, the poet, who died in 1408 ; and on some rich tombs in Ratcliffe Church, and the Mayor's Chapel, Bristol.

Fourthly, Such tombs, the sides whereof are divided into square recessed compartments, containing quatrefoils, the interior sweeps of which are richly cusped and feathered ; these contain small shields, and the spandrels or spaces between the angles of the square compartment and quatrefoil are filled up with foliated tracery. Portions of pannelled tracery sometimes intervene between each compartment, and the basement of the tomb is occasionally covered by a series of small quatrefoils in circles. The greater number of altar tombs of this century are of this description ; and that in Wimborne Minster of John Beaufort, Duke of Somerset, who died in 1444, is a fine specimen. A tomb of this kind in Meriden Church, Warwickshire, of which the vignette at the head of the chapter is a representation, is also worthy of remark.

Many of the tombs of the fifteenth century appear beneath arched recesses, fixed in, or projecting from, the wall, and inclosing the tomb on three sides ; and these were constructed so as to form canopies or testoons, which are often of the most elaborate and costly workmanship.

The tomb of Gower is within such a canopied recess,

which is flanked on each side, at the angles, by two slender buttresses, finishing in pinnacles beneath the cornice moulding. Three foliated arches, with rich ogee canopies springing from sculptured bosses, appear suspended in front over the tomb; and above these, and in the intervening spaces, are narrow trefoil-headed pannels; the whole is surmounted by a plain horizontal cornice, with a few bold mouldings; the ceiling is richly groined, and the ribs spring from corbel heads affixed to the wall at the back, and from the pendent bosses of the arches in front of the tomb. The monument in Westminster Abbey of William de Dudley, who died in 1483, is much in the same style of composition.

But the most prevalent kind of rich monumental design, during this century, particularly in the latter part, consisted of an altar tomb constructed beneath an arched recess or canopy, obtusely pointed, and surmounted by a horizontal cornice, finished along the top with a row of the trefoil-leaved ornament or flower; small angular piers or buttresses flanked the composition in front; the inner sweep of the architrave mouldings was richly cusped and feathered; the spandrels were filled with a pierced or plain quatrefoil or trefoil, or with small shields or foliage, and the soffit of the canopy was enriched with pannelled tracery, or groined. An emblazoned escutcheon or shield, surmounted by a tilting helme, mantle, and crest, is often introduced, and sculptured in relief, in front of the cornice of these canopied recesses.

A monument in the Mayor's Chapel, Bristol; that in the south transept of Ratcliffe Church, Bristol, of William Cannyng, who died about the year 1460; and that in Croydon Church, Surrey, of Thomas Wareham, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 1478, are of this description.

In the south transept of Wolston Church, Warwickshire, is a monument of like character, though not altogether so richly designed; to this no positive date can be ascribed, the inscription having been destroyed; it is, however, from the style of composition, evidently of the latter part of this, or early part of the sixteenth century, and, as a specimen, is represented by the vignette at the end of the chapter.

But all structures of this kind are not attached to the wall: some are insulated, and the arch of the canopy is open on both sides. Such is the monument in Bennington Church, Herts, of Sir Edward Bensted, Knight, who died in 1432.

Many of the ornamental details and mouldings of this period differ very much from those of the fourteenth century; a common moulding, which almost always forms part of the horizontal cornice both of the tomb and canopy above, consists of a bold hollow casting a deep shadow, with four-leaved flowers, and sometimes roses, inserted at certain distances. The crocketed ogee or contrasted arch, still continued in some instances to form part of architectural designs; other portions of which evince them to be of this century; but the obtuse or flat pointed arch, struck from four centres, is decidedly a characteristic of the fifteenth, and early part of the sixteenth century, and the trefoil-leaved ornament, sometimes called the Tudor flower, which with a smaller often intervening between two larger, was used in great profusion in the embellishment of cornices of small rich works, especially in the finish of monumental compositions, is also peculiar to the same period.

There are some remarkable monuments which first appear in this century, and which were generally commemorative of ecclesiastics, though sometimes of the laity; and these are those which in the upper division of a tomb

represent the deceased as in life, full of health and vigor, whilst in a recess beneath, indications of corruption, an emaciated human body, or a human skeleton, disclose themselves.

On the tomb in Lincoln Cathedral of Bishop Fleming, who died in 1430, appears his effigy as in life, arrayed in episcopal vestments, whilst in a recess beneath, his body is represented in a shroud, in a state of decay.

In Arundel Church, the tomb with the cumbent effigy of John Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, who died in 1433, presents, in an open-arched recess beneath, the sculptured representation of a human body wasted away and lying in a shroud.

In Ewelme Church, Oxfordshire, on the monument of Alice, Duchess of Suffolk, who died in 1475, her effigy appears arrayed in her usual costume, whilst in a recess below, she is again represented in her shroud.

These monuments, indicative of man's mortality, are to be met with so late as the seventeenth century, since in Tarbick Church, Warwickshire, is the representation of a skeleton beneath a tomb of that era, on which tomb the effigy of a man in armour reclines.

Slabs with inlaid brasses are common throughout this century; they are supposed to have been manufactured in the Netherlands, and imported into this country; they were called 'pictures of brasse,' and by that name were often willed to be laid over the grave of the testator. They are distinguished by the inscription, generally carried round the verge of the slab, though sometimes inserted below the effigy; by the armour and dress, in which the figure is delineated; and by the architectural details of inlaid tabernacle work which surround it.

Many of the brasses of the fifteenth century are exceedingly gorgeous, and exhibit, in the general arrangement of

the figures and decorative embellishments, a far greater degree of elegance and freedom of execution than those of the succeeding century.

A design often met with consists of two lateral piers, or slender buttresses, of inlaid work, supporting a rich composition of tabernacle work formed of three arched divisions, cusped within, and surmounted by ogee crocketed canopies, crowned with finials, the middle division being larger than those on each side, and separated from them by purfled pinnacles terminating below in ornamental pendants. Within the space thus formed by the lateral buttresses and tripled arched canopy, the figure is inserted. Sometimes, instead of the slender buttresses, the lateral piers are formed of rich tabernacle work in divisions, where, within highly ornamented niches, small figures are inserted. The canopy sometimes consists of a single decorated arch springing from lateral supporters; and where there are two brass figures, over each is a separate single arched canopy. Sometimes there are no canopies, and the four corners of the slab are adorned with shields of arms; and towards the close of the century, the gradual disuse of tabernacle work is apparent.

It is upon slabs of this description that we first see represented small figures of children kneeling beneath the effigies of their parents: this practice does not appear to have commenced till towards the middle of this century, and even then was rare; at the close it became more prevalent, and in the sixteenth century was quite common.

The monumental slab in Cobham Church, Kent, of Joan, Lady Cobham, who died in 1433, is an early instance where such small figures occur. Another instance of early date is at Fladbury, in Worcestershire, in which church is a stone inlaid with the effigies in brass of Edward Peyto and Goditha his wife, the former of whom, as the inscription

beneath the feet of himself and lady imports, died in the year 1436, and beneath the inscribed brass plate are five small kneeling figures of children.

There is amongst these brass effigies a considerable difference in point of dimension, the principal ones varying from a foot in height up to the natural size, whilst those representing children are only a few inches in height; and in general the early brasses are larger than those of more recent date.

It was also customary, during this century, to represent persons by their effigies cut in outline on a slab of marble or alabaster, and these slabs were sometimes raised on an altar tomb, and sometimes placed level with the pavement.

On an altar tomb in the church of Newbold upon Avon, Warwickshire, is an alabaster slab of this description, whereon the effigies of Geoffrey Allesley and Alianor his wife, are engraved in outline; the inscription round the verge gives the date of 1401, and it may be considered as an early example.

Though the changes effected in the armour and dress in which the monumental effigies of this century appear were very numerous, and in many instances sufficiently distinctive, they were, nevertheless, sometimes so gradually developed, that a discriminative view of the various habiliments worn together, and the periods, as near as can be ascertained, of their introduction and disuse, requires no common degree of attention, notwithstanding the wide difference and marked change perceptible between the commencement and close of the century.

In the reign of Henry the Fourth the armour resembled, in most respects, that of the preceding reign, but was more superb, and the distinction is chiefly evinced in the addition of the *orle*, an highly ornamented wreath or chaplet, which

encircled the basinet, and by the collar of S S. a cognizance introduced by Henry the Fourth, being the initial letter of his favourite motto, 'Soverayne.' The equipments of a knight consisted of a conical basinet, which was either fastened, as before, to a camail of mail, which covered the neck, shoulders, and breast, or else was attached to a gorget of plate, which in this reign began to supersede the tippet of mail; the basinet was frequently environed by the orle, which was sometimes splendidly enriched with pearls, and served to counteract the pressure of the heavy jousting helme worn over it at tournaments; the hawberk of mail was supported by a breast-plate, and the body was covered to the hips by an emblazoned jupon foliated at the bottom, or else cut round in an escaloped border; over the shoulders were epaulieres or overlapping plates, which, extending in front over the breast, became the prototypes of pauldrons; the arms and hands were protected by brassarts, elbow-pieces, vambraces, and cuffed gauntlets, all of plate; at the arm-pits and joints were flexible gussets of mail; the thighs, legs, and feet, were incased in cuisses, genouilleres, jambs, and jointed sollerets, all likewise of plate, the latter pointed at the toes; rouelle spurs were fastened to the heels; round the neck the collar of S S. was often worn; the anelace was affixed on the right side to a superb bawdrick or girdle, horizontally disposed about the loins, and the sword was suspended on the left side, from a belt buckled in front, and crossing the body diagonally, a fashion which had fallen into disuse on the introduction of the bawdrick in the reign of Edward the Third, but was now again revived; and beneath the head the jousting helme, bearing as a crest the head of a man, beast, or bird, was placed. The plates of steel which covered the limbs were often decorated with a kind of invecked ornamental hem or lace-

work, which ran up them, and the sword was sometimes worn on the right, and the anelace or dagger on the left side. This armour was also partially worn during the succeeding reign.



Monumental Effigy in Northleigh Church, Oxfordshire, of William Wilcotes. A.D. 1411.

The effigy in Northleigh Church, Oxfordshire, of William Wilcotes, who died in 1411, and that in Ashwelthorpe Church, Norfolk, of Sir Edmund de Thorpe, who died in 1418, are very superb, and complete specimens of the body armour of the early part of this century; the chief difference between them being, that on the former appears the camail attached to the basinet, on the latter the gorget of plate.

In this reign commenced the disuse of the hawberk of mail and jupon, and the introduction, in their stead, of a cuirass of iron or steel, with a skirt of jointed plates or taces, which reached to the middle of the thighs.

The brass in Thruxton Church, Hants, of Sir John Lysle, who died in 1407, is an early example of the kind.

This description of armour, however, prevailed chiefly in the reign of Henry the Fifth, when, and during the early part of the reign of Henry the Sixth, the periods of its general adoption may be considered. The conical basinet attached to a gorget of plate, and forming a shield-shaped opening for the face, a cuirass of plate with a skirt of taces commencing at the loins, circular pallettes or angular-shaped pieces of plate in front of the arm-pits, and pallettes or else fan-shaped ornamental plates at the elbow joints, epaulieres, rere and vambraces, and cuffed gauntlets, cuisses, genouilleres with plates below, jambs, and sollerets jointed at the toes, with rouelle spurs affixed to the heels, composed the suit, and the sword was fastened to a belt crossing diagonally from the right hip to the opposite thigh. The horizontal bawdrick was generally discarded on the adoption of this kind of armour.



Brass Effigy in Westminster Abbey of Sir John Harpedon.
A. D. 1457.

Of a suit of this description, the brass in Westminster Abbey of Sir John Harpedon, Knight, who died in 1457, and which differs little from that of Sir John Lysle's, is a late specimen, since it seldom is met with on monumental figures after the middle of the reign of Henry the Sixth.

At this latter period, the chivalrous feelings of the age were strikingly exemplified by the introduction of suits of plate armour, of a more costly and elegant fashion, invented both for the tournament and field, and which, from the peculiarity and form of many of their component parts, may without difficulty be distinguished from those immediately preceding them.

The especial marks of this change are evinced by the absence of the basinet, by the addition of tuilles to the taces, and of pauldrons over the epaulieres; the left or bridle arm was also often differently and more completely guarded than the right, for which a greater freedom of motion was required.

The suit now consisted of a breast plate and back plate, with a skirt of taces annexed, appended to which by straps were tuilles, or pendent angular-shaped flaps, which covered the upper part of the thighs; underneath these an apron of mail appears: round the neck was worn a collar of mail; and besides the epaulieres, the shoulders were protected by pauldrons, which were sometimes turned up at the edges like a cape, the one worn over the left shoulder often differing both in size and form to that over the right: of elbow pieces there was a great variety, they were often angular-shaped, and tied or fastened with points; the arms were further defended by rere and vambraces, and the legs by cuisses, genouilleres, with plates above and below, and often highly-ornamented; jambs, and sollerets jointed at the toes. The decorative collar of SS. still continued to be

worn; and many of the suits of this period were either fluted or ridged.

It now first became customary to represent sepulchral effigies in armour with the head uncovered, reposing on the tilting helmet, the basinet being discarded, and the hands without gauntlets, and bare. The pointed sollerets also began to give place to those very broad at the toes; and the fashion of wearing over the armour the mantle of the Order of the Garter, a long cloak, which descended to the feet, or nearly so, commenced in this reign; the sword also was sometimes suspended quite in front of the body; and though the bawdrick was occasionally worn, the diagonal belt was the common one in use.

A peculiar kind of helmet or head-piece made its appearance in the reign of Henry the Sixth, to which period it seems to have been almost entirely confined; this was the *salade*, from *schale*, a shell or saucer, being a scull-cap with a rim or ridge projecting much behind, and to it a moveable vizor was sometimes affixed. It is but rarely that we find it on sepulchral monuments; instances, however, of its adoption occur on an effigy in Brancepeth Church, Durham, of one of the Neville family, and on a monument in Meriden Church, Warwickshire.^a

The effigies in the Beauchamp Chapel, at Warwick, of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who died in 1439; at Whitchurch, Salop, of John Talbot, the great Earl of Shrewsbury, who died in 1453; in Salisbury Cathedral, of Robert, Lord Hungerford, who died in 1455; and in Great St. Helen's Church, London, of Sir John Crosby, who died in 1475, exhibit excellent specimens of the armour in fashion during the latter part of the reign of Henry the Sixth, and that of Edward the Fourth. Over that of the Earl of

^a Vide vignette at the head of the chapter.

Shrewsbury is a long mantle or cloak, decorated in front of the left shoulder with the Order of the Garter: the effigy also of Sir John Crosby appears with a mantle over the armour; those of the other two do not.

The brass in Shernborne Church, Norfolk, of Sir Thomas Shernborne, Knight, who died in 1458, presents also a good specimen of the armour in use during the reign of Henry the Sixth.



Brass Effigy in Shernborne Church, Norfolk, of Sir Thomas Shernborne.
A. D. 1458.

The effigy of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, one of the most eminent warriors of his age, is exceedingly superb, being cast in latten, gilt and burnished, and so elaborately finished in every part, as exactly to resemble a suit of armour. Of this recumbent effigy Sir S. R. Meyrick has given a descriptive and detailed account in his 'Critical Inquiry into Ancient Armour,' which account is here sub-

joined.—“The monumental effigy of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, who died in 1439, is all brass, exactly like a suit of armour, and laid on his sepulchre; his breast and back plate have each placates or placards rising up with scalloped edges to points, before and behind, and in the front one appear the screw holes which held the lance rest; each of the placards is fastened at top with a strap and buckle. The elbow pieces, particularly that part of them within the bends of the arm, are very large, that on the bridle arm being the greatest of the two, and are so edged as to look like several successive plates. Upon the espaulieres are placed pauldrons, also ridged, with the edges turned up, so as to form the prototypes of pass-guards. Pendent from the last tassett is the apron of chain, which is continued all round, being likewise appendant to the last culette, which from the appearance of two buckles and straps might, it seems, be removed at pleasure. Besides the two large tuilles over the thighs, there are two tuilettes at the hips, and these are elegantly ridged; the cuisses are also ridged all the way up, so as to resemble so many distinct pieces; and in this specimen we have a distinct display of those lateral pieces attached by hinges to the cuisses, from which we learn that they did not envelope completely the under part of the thigh, but only reached to where the saddle could meet; these pieces were held in their places by a buckle and strap. This warrior has the garter round his left leg, a little below his knee. It is somewhat curious, too, that the pauldrons, though covering the arm-pits in front, the right one having its excavation supplied by a palette, should in reality extend only to the outsides of the shoulders, where they terminate with scalloped edges, and that the espaulieres form the covering for the blade bones, the pauldrons being strapped to them;

the tilting helmet is placed in the monument under his head."

During the reigns of Edward the Fourth and Fifth, no very striking dissimilarity occurs; and the suits, in most respects, resembled those of the latter part of Henry the Sixth's reign. The fashion of wearing over the cuirass the demi-placate, an additional piece of defensive armour, escaloped at the edges, and rising to a point in front, was generally adopted; to the taces two large angular-shaped tuilles were annexed, one over each thigh; the elbow plates were large, and terminated in sharp projecting points, and in these may be observed a gradual approximation to those fan-shaped, ribbed, and escaloped plates, by which the armour of the reign of Richard the Third was especially distinguished. On brasses of this period the sword frequently appears suspended quite in front of the body, from a strap coming over both hips; the head was bare, and supported by the tilting helme, surmounted by a mantelet and crest; the hands were sometimes, though not always, covered with gauntlets; and the fashion increased of wearing over the armour a long cloak or mantle, which latter was sometimes that of a Knight of the Order of the Garter, when the principal decoration itself appears on the left leg, below the knee.

The brass effigy in Iselham Church, Cambridgeshire, of Sir Thomas Peyton, who died in 1484, is a curious specimen illustrative of the kind of armour, remarkable for the peculiarity and elegance of its outline, worn during the short reign of Richard the Third. He is represented in a gorget and globular-shaped breast-plate, furnished with a demi-placard; the pauldrons differ from each other in design, that on the right shoulder being ribbed and ridged; the one on the left ribbed and escaloped; in front of the right

shoulder appears the moton, a piece of plate answering to the palette; the elbow pieces are very large, of a fan-like shape, and richly escaloped; the gauntlets are composed of overlapping plates, without fingers; from the taces two large angular-shaped tuilles are suspended, and the lower limbs appear incased as before. Another specimen, very similar to the above, except that instead of the gorget a collar of mail was worn, formerly existed in a brass effigy, now destroyed, in the north transept of Hordle Church, Hants.

In the reign of Henry the Seventh, in which this century terminated, the body armour lost much of the former elegance of its contour, and a far greater degree of plainness is evinced; the elbow plates and pauldrons were no longer ornamented; and a gradual approach may be perceived to the heavy, cumbrous, and inelegant suits which, in the succeeding reign, made their appearance.

The brass in Stapleford Church, Leicestershire, of Geoffrey Sherard, who died in 1490, exhibits the armour of this reign. He is represented with long hair, a collar of mail round his neck, and a globular-shaped breast-plate, with a skirt of taces, pendent to which are tuilles, with the edges escaloped; the pauldrons are plain, and turned back on the upper edges; the elbow plates are also plain, and much smaller than those of the previous reign. Gauntlets, rere and vambraces, cuisses, escaloped genouilleres, jambs, and sollerets, complete the suit; the head is bare, reposing on a tilting helme, and the sword hangs suspended in front from a buckled belt.

The tabard, a garment emblazoned with armorial bearings, and still retained as the dress of heralds in cases of state ceremony, was occasionally worn over the armour during this century; it covered the front and back of the

body nearly to the knees, was open at the sides from the arm-pits downwards, and instead of sleeves, large flaps hung down over and covered the shoulders.

The regal habiliments which appear on the effigy of Henry the Fourth, and which were the outward vestures of state, consist of a supertunic or surcoat, with a broad falling cape, and embroidered openings down the sides, and wide sleeves with richly ornamented cuffs; a mantle, with an embroidered border open in front, and fastened across the breast with a broad band of jewelry, extending from fermails on either side, and a cordon, the tasselled extremities of which hang down; over the mantle a hood, falling in folds about the neck, is worn; and on the head is a crown of state; the sandals on the feet are plain and pointed at the toes, and the hands, in which the sceptre and ball were placed, are mutilated.

The effigy of Henry the Fifth, with the exception of the jewelled band, is arrayed in similar habiliments, which from a bas relief in Westminster Abbey, in the chapel of that monarch, representing his coronation, exactly accord with those worn at that ceremony; the head of this effigy, which was of silver, has long since disappeared, together with the hands, holding the sceptre and globe.

Noblemen, instead of appearing in armour, are sometimes represented in their robes of estate, which consisted of a surcoat, mantle and hood, and a coronet, which latter varied in fashion according to the title of the wearer.

The effigy in Arundel Church, of Thomas Fitzalan, Earl of Arundel, who died in 1416, appears sculptured in a surcoat, with a broad falling cape, and wide sleeves, ornamented at the borders; over this is a mantle, open in front, and fastened across the breast by a tasselled cordon, the extremities of which hang down in front; above the mantle

a hood is worn, over which, and round the neck, appears the collar of SS. and on the head is an earl's coronet, heightened up with points, on the tops of which pearls and strawberry leaves alternately are fixed.

Judges and sergeants at law are represented in their official robes, of which those worn in the fifteenth century are described by Sir John Fortescu, knight, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench in the reign of Henry the Sixth, who in his work '*De Laudibus Legum Angliæ*,' setting forth the formality in making a judge, points out the particulars in which he should thenceforward change his habit; "for being a serjeant at the law, he is clothed in a long priest-like robe, with a furred cape about his shoulders, and thereupon a hood with two labels, with their coyf. But being made a justice, instead of his hood he must wear a cloak, closed upon his right shoulder, all the other ornaments of a serjeant still remaining, saving that his vesture shall not be party-coloured, as a serjeant's may, and his cape furred with minever, whereas the serjeant's cape is ever furred with white lamb."

The gown of a sergeant at law was girt close round the body, and not open in front, to signify that he should be secret to his clients, not disclosing their council. But the most distinguished mark peculiar to the higher degrees of the profession was the coif, or close scull-cap, worn by the sergeants as well as the judges.

In Rodmarton Church, Gloucestershire, is the brass effigy of John Edward, who died in 1471, and who is described in his epitaph as '*famosus apprenticius in lege peritus*;' his apparel consists of a long close gown, girt round the waist; the sleeves, the collar, and the bottom of the gown, are furred apparently with lambs' wool, and he wears on his head a looser kind of cap than the coif.

The monumental effigy in Harwood Church, Yorkshire, of Sir William Gascoigne, the celebrated Chief Justice of the King's Bench, who died in 1413, represents him arrayed in a long robe, surcoat, or gown, with a broad falling cape, and large loose sleeves; this is fastened round the waist by a girdle buckled in front, the end of which is ornamented and pendent. The mantle is fastened on the right shoulder, from whence, being thrown open across the breast, it falls in folds over the left arm; on the head is the coif, or close scull-cap, which comes round the face, and is buttoned under the chin; from the girdle, on the left side, a gipciere or purse, and on the right an anelace, are suspended; the shoes are pointed; and from the broad sleeves of the gown the sleeves of the doublet, fitting close, and buttoned up to the wrists, appear issuing.

The brass figure in Bray Church, Berks. of Sir William Laken, Knight, one of the Judges of the King's Bench, who died in 1475, appears in a coif or gown, the sleeves of which are faced with minever, and a mantle and hood, the former lined with the same; and from the girdle, which buckles in front, and is thence pendent, a rosary and anelace are suspended.

Burghers and merchants, in the early part of this century, are represented apparelled in long coats or gowns, sometimes buttoned down to the feet, and girded above the hips with a broad ornamental belt buckled in front, from which an anelace or knife was suspended; the sleeves were loose, and sometimes purfled or edged at the wrists; over this was often worn a cloak or mantle, sometimes hooded or caped, and buttoned on the right shoulder. The gown was occasionally lined with fur, and sometimes worn loose, being neither girded or buttoned. Towards the end of the century persons of the above classes were portrayed without the

mantle, and in the long coat or gown only as their upper vestment; this was girded round the waist; and to the girdle a rosary or string of beads, and a gipciere, a wide tasselled pouch or purse, were fastened. The gipciere, though worn in the previous century, is very seldom found on effigies before the reign of Edward the Fourth; that on the effigy of Judge Gascoigne being, perhaps, the earliest instance. These effigies appear bare-headed, and generally with the forked beard.



Effigy in St. Margaret's Church, Lynn, of Walter Coney, a burgess of that place. A. D. 1479.

In the church of Campden, Gloucestershire, William Grevel, a merchant and citizen of London, who died in 1401, is depicted, by his effigy of brass inlaid, as habited in a long coat or gown, buttoned down to the bottom, and girt round the waist with a broad studded belt, buckled in front, and terminating with a pendent ornament; from the belt on the left side an anelace is hung: the sleeves of the gown are full,

and edged with fur at the wrists ; the hands are half covered with mittens ; the mantle, which has a cape or hood attached, is fastened by three buttons on the right shoulder, and is thrown back in front over the left arm.

The brass in St. Margaret's Church, Lynn, of Walter Coney, who died in 1479, shews the habit of a burgess or merchant. He appears in a long close coat or gown, with a standing cape, hanging down in front ; over his right shoulder is a hood, to his belt a gipciere and rosary are affixed, his head is bare, and his hair cropped short.



Effigy in Charwelton Church, Northamptonshire, of William Andrew,
A. D. 1496.

The brass in Charwelton Church, Northamptonshire, of William Andrew, merchant, who died in 1496, portrays him as clad in a merchant's gown, with a stand-up collar and loose sleeves, and faced or bordered with minever : the gown is open from the bottom, half way up to the girdle, to

which a rosary and gipciere are attached, and on the feet are the broad-toed shoes.

Unlike the dresses of the laity, which varied after the fashions of every succeeding age, the priestly array of the ecclesiastics continued unchanged; and a descriptive enumeration of the different vestments composing the episcopal and sacerdotal habits of the fourteenth century, may without alteration serve in treating of the same throughout the fifteenth.

There is, however, an apparent difference in the increased richness of the robes, which were often gorgeously embroidered, and in parts jewelled, as at the cuffs of the sleeves and cape of the chesible; the mitre was also of a greater height in shape, and more superbly ornamented with precious stones.

The effigies and brass portraitures of the bishops and abbots of this age are numerous. There are also many brasses of the inferior ecclesiastics of sacerdotal rank, though of the latter there are few sculptured monuments.

But besides the effigies of priests vested in the mass habit, viz. the alb, stole, maniple, and chesible, there are some brasses of ecclesiastics who, having belonged to collegiate foundations, are represented differently habited, and the canonical robes in which they appear are, the alb, surplice, amice, and cope; and sometimes the head is covered with a square-cornered cap.

In this habit William Moor, a priest, and second provost of Tateshall College, who died in 1456, is delineated on a brass in Tateshall Church. He appears in the alb, which, long and flowing, entirely conceals the feet; over this is worn a surplice, with wide hanging sleeves, reaching to about the ancles; above the latter, and round the neck, is the amice or aumasse, a kind of scarf or hood covering the

breast,¹ and thence divided into two broad bands or strips,^k hanging down in front of the body, and this, as represented on monumental brasses, was generally of a black colour: ^l the outward vesture is a rich cope, open in front, and fastened across the breast by a large square clasp; the facing of the cope is ornamented with embroidery, representing a series of niches filled with saints; and on the head appears a square-cornered cap.

In the same habit ^m is the brass portraiture in the church of Higham Ferrers, of William Wylley, one of the wardens of that college; one at St. Cross, near Winchester; and others in the chapels of some of the colleges at Oxford; one in the chapel of Merton College which is represented in the following page, shews also the style of canopied tabernacle work inlaid over the head; the dress on the figure consists of the alb, surplice, aumasse or amice, with pendent bands, and cope.

In old St. Paul's Cathedral were many brasses of this description, commemorative of canons of that establishment.

The cope, which constituted the outer vesture of the canonical habit, has often been confounded with, and described as, the rochet, which latter was a garment totally dissimilar, for the cope approximated in shape a mantle or cloak, and was open in front; whereas the rochet was worn over the body, like a short tunic or frock, without sleeves, but with arm-holes.

¹ "Pectus seu cor eo tegitur."—Durand.

^k "Due fasciollæ sive due cordule quibus amictus ante pectus ligatur."—Durand, Rat.

^l "Clemens V. PP. in Concilio Viennensi statuit ut *almutus de panno nigro*, vel pellibus, caputliorem loco uterentur."—Du Cange, Glossorium. tit. Almucium.

^m For particulars respecting the canonical garb, Du Cange may be referred to under the articles, Almucium, Canonica, Superpellicium.



Brass in the Chapel of Merton College, Oxford. Fifteenth Century.

Taken by permission, from Ingram's Memorials of Oxford.

The female costume of this era consisted, as to the body dress, chiefly of two kinds only : the one was the surcote or low-bodiced gown, the fashion of the former age, hollowed out at the sides, and fitting close to the shape, with tight-drawn sleeves ; over this was a mantle, open in front, and fastened across the breast by a cordon attached on either side to a fermail, and the tasselled extremities of the cordon hung down, which was previously seldom the case.

The other was a full and high-bodied gown, with a deep falling collar and wide sleeves, not conforming to the shape, but reefed in at the waist, round which it was fastened by a broad and ornamental girdle ; sometimes it was buttoned in front up to the neck, and had no falling collar.

The head-dresses were more varied and singular, and frequently enriched with jewelry. The coiffure of females of rank, which had formerly been reticulated on perpendicular cylinders pendent on each side of the head, such as appear on the effigy of Queen Philippa, still continued reticulated, though in a different mode. In the early part of this century the hair was gathered into net-work of an orbicular shape, as may be observed on the effigy of Joan of Navarre, Queen of Henry the Fourth ; this net-work protuberance became afterwards flattened, and projected out horizontally on each side of the face, and over this a veil was disposed, which fell down behind : this head-dress is exemplified on the monumental effigy of the lady of Sir Edmund de Thorpe. The horned, mitred, or piked head attire, often combined with the reticulated coiffure, and in fashion during the same period, was often extended to a preposterous size : that represented on the effigy in Arundel Church, of Beatrice, Countess of Arundel, is very curious ; her hair is enclosed in a rich net-work, formed of pearls, projecting considerably

from each side of the head, and this is surmounted by a veil, piked up on each side so as to form a crescent; and on the top of the head, though not so as to prevent the extremities of the dress from turning up, a rich coronet is worn.



Effigy of Beatrice, Countess of Arundel; from her tomb in Arundel Church: ob. 1439.

A fine specimen of the horned head-dress, not so large as that of the Countess of Arundel, and much resembling a mitre in shape, appears on the effigy, in Hoveringham Church, Notts. of the lady of Sir Robert Grushill.

About the reign of Edward the Fourth, a kind of head attire projecting horizontally backwards, and supported by wires, made its appearance, and such is represented on the brasses in Iselham Church, of the two wives of Sir Thomas Peyton: and at the very close of this century, in the reign of Henry the Seventh, the pedimental head-dress came into

fashion. The neck was generally bare, except when the barb was worn.

The luxurious manners of the age, especially exemplified in the increased costliness of dress, were violently declaimed against by the clergy, and satirically exposed by the poets. The quaint and preposterous head attire in particular, met with severe reprobation, and in some instances with effect. A certain Carmelite friar is mentioned by Monstrelet as having, in the year 1428, travelled about Flanders, and parts of France, preaching against the vices of the age, particularly the luxuries of apparel; so vehemently, indeed, did he declaim against the high head-dresses then common, that no woman durst appear in his presence thus attired; and many, on account of his invectives, were so ashamed, that they laid aside their head-dresses, and assimilated them to those of nuns.

The love of rich apparel and capricious fashions thus inveighed against, were the natural results of the mercantile spirit then in operation; and, however reprehensible in themselves, had certainly a manifest tendency to promote and encourage commerce, which, if carried on to any considerable extent, must ever receive its principal support in the creation and supply of those numerous artificial wants which society in a state of progression is ever sure to require.

Females are, however, sometimes portrayed in more sober habits, and appear in widows' weeds, or in mourning. Their dress then consisted of a surcote or gown, a mantle, a hood or tippet, and a barb. The effigy in Westminster Abbey of Philippa, Duchess of York, who died in 1433, and that in Wingfield Church, Suffolk, of Elizabeth, sister to Edward the Fourth, and wife of John De la Pole, Duke of Suffolk, are thus attired.

Some female religious votaries are also represented in the mantle, barb, and hood, as appears by the brass in Elnstow Church, Suffolk, of Elizabeth Hervey, abbess of that place, who died in the year 1500.

The barb was a linen chin-cloth or neckerchief, plaited in front in perpendicular folds; and it was worn in different modes, according to the rank of the wearer; for instance, Duchesses and Countesses, and all of higher estate, were barbed above the chin; others, not below the degree of a Baroness, were allowed to wear it about the chin; the wives of Knights might wear the barb under their throats; and all other gentlewomen beneath the gullet. The tippet was a long and narrow strip of cloth, about two inches in breadth, attached to the hood, and hanging down behind nearly to the ground.



Mitred, horned, and wired head-dresses of the fifteenth century.ⁿ

Stone slabs, with crosses cut thereon, in a variety of heraldic devices, were common during this century, and generally denote the burial places of ecclesiastics.

ⁿ The *mitred* head-dress, above represented, is taken from the inlaid brass in Sherborne Church, Norfolk, of Jamina, lady of Sir Thomas Sherborne, Knight, A. D. 1458.—The *horned* head-dress is from the effigy in Hoveringham Church, Notts. of the lady of Sir Robert Grushill; and the *wired*, or horizontally framed head-dress, is from the inlaid brass in Broxborne Church, Hertfordshire, of Elizabeth, wife of Sir John Say, Knight, who died in 1473.

The attitude of effigies, whether sculptured or inlaid, was recumbent; the legs were straight, and the hands joined as in prayer, on the breast.

It was usual to represent a man and his wife on the same tomb, and sometimes three persons—a man and his two wives, or a female and her two husbands.

Instead of pillows, the head of an effigy in armour was generally, though not always, supported by the tilting helmet, surmounted by a wreath and crest; this was worn at tournaments over the basinet, until the latter was discarded, and the tilting helmet alone being then considered a sufficient protection, the head of the monumental effigy, which rested upon it, was represented bare.

The heads of sculptured effigies of ecclesiastics repose on pillows supported by angels, and small figures in a monastic costume sometimes appear at the feet: the heads of females likewise recline on pillows supported by angels, their feet resting against a dog, and the feet of males against a lion or other animal.

Free-stone, out of which in the thirteenth century almost all monumental figures were cut, was now superseded by marble or alabaster, the common material in which such effigies were at this period sculptured; and these were often painted, so as to resemble in colour the real dress. There were, however, some few exceptions: the effigy of Henry the Fifth was carved in oak, and that of Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, cast in metal, and gilt.

Inscriptions on monuments of the thirteenth century are, comparatively, rare; in the fourteenth they became more common, though they were then by no means general; but on those of the fifteenth they almost constantly occur. Throughout this century no other than the old English text

hand, black letter, or gothic characters—the Lombardic having become obsolete—with numeral letters for dates, were used.—Latin, French, and English, were the languages in which the epitaphs were written.

The most numerous were those in Latin: this was a language in which the services of the church were performed, as they had been for many centuries, and in which, though in some respects corrupted, almost all documents, both of a public and private nature, were written; it was, consequently, much studied by the ecclesiastics and literati, and used by them generally throughout Europe. Latin epitaphs of this age, with few exceptions, commenced with ‘*Hic Jacet,*’ or ‘*Orate pro anima;*’ and usually ended, as before, with the termination, ‘*Cujus anime propicietur Deus. Amen.*’ Many of the words were often abbreviated, particularly those composing the concluding sentence. Inscriptions were sometimes in Latin verse, and the following was not an uncommon memento on tombs:

“*Quisquis eris qui me transieris sta perlege plora
Sum quod eris fueramque quod es pro me precor ora.*”

Few epitaphs of the fifteenth century are in the French or Norman tongue; and the change thus evidenced may indeed, amongst other instances, be adduced as a proof of the gradual decline of that language, which, for the two or three centuries after the Norman invasion, from the various causes thence originating, had been in considerable repute amongst the higher classes of society in this country.

From the Conquest down to the reign of Edward the Third the English language was very little used in written instruments: in that and the succeeding reign, however, it received much encouragement: the pleadings in the courts,

and parliamentary proceedings, which had hitherto been carried on in French, were changed, and contained in English; and though there are, perhaps, no sepulchral inscriptions in that tongue prior to the fifteenth century, yet at almost the very beginning of it some are to be met with, and they became more common as the century drew to a close. "*Pray for the soul of,*" or "*Here lieth,*" commenced most of such epitaphs, though sometimes other words were used, and they ended with, "*On whose soul God have mercy. Amen.*"

Even in this century we occasionally meet with epitaphs in English verse or rhyme; these were, with few exceptions, very short, and sometimes inscribed at the express request of the deceased. Thus, Edward Hampden, Esq. in 1419, after directing his body to be buried in the church of Great Hampden, willed that a white stone should be placed over him, and Jane his wife, with this writing:

"Ye yat thys see Pray ye for Charitie,
For Edmund's soul and Jane's a Paternoster and an Ave."

Independent of the directions for funerals, which are contained in most documents of a testamentary nature of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, we often meet therein with some curious notices respecting tombs, from which we become acquainted with the costs and other particulars of those goodly fabrics.

Thus we may in some degree account for the great similarity of monuments, from the will of John, Earl of Pembroke, whereby, in 1372, after leaving his body to be buried in the church of St. Paul, at London, he gave for the making of a tomb for him near the wall on the north side, as like as

possible to the tomb of Elizabeth de Burgh, buried in the Minories, London, without Aldgate, cXLII.^a

Thomas, Lord Poynings, in 1374, bequeathed his body to be buried in the midst of the quire of the abbey of St. Radegunds, in Kent, before the high altar, and desired that a tomb should be made with the image of an armed knight thereon, of alabaster. He left to that abbey C'. part for the making of the tomb, and the remainder to be disposed of in masses and prayers for his soul.^o

Sir John Montacute, Knight, in 1388, willed that a plain tomb should be made for him, with the image of a knight thereon, and the arms of Montacute, having an helmet under the head.^p

Sir Philip D'Arcy, Knight, by his will, dated in 1398, desired that his executors should expend ten pounds for a marble stone, to be laid on his grave, with the image of himself, and of Elizabeth his wife, fixed thereon.^q

Elizabeth, Countess of Salisbury, left, in 1414, to make and furnish an altar and new tomb for herself and her son, in the south side of the quire of the church at Bustleham, opposite to that of her husband, C. marks.^r

Particular orders for the erection of a chantry chapel, with an altar and tomb therein, are contained in a codicil to the will of Thomas Montacute, Earl of Salisbury, who died in 1428, by which he directed that D. marks should be raised out of his lands to erect a chantry to the honour of the Blessed Virgin, above the high altar in the east part of the conventual church at Bustleham, forty feet in length, twenty feet in breadth, and the height of the walls twenty feet; and

^a Nicholas' Testamenta Vetusta, p. 87.

^o Ibid. p. 93.

^p Ibid. p. 124.

^q Ibid. p. 146.

^r Ibid. p. 183.

also that a tomb, four feet in height, should be raised in the midst thereof, containing three distinct places, the middlemost higher than the other two by half a foot; in which he directed his own body to be laid, and the body of the Lady Alianor, sometime his wife, on the one side, with the body of the Lady Alice, his present wife, then living, on the other side, if she were willing; which tomb he desired should be made of marble, with portraitures of each in brass, and epitaphs, as also a chapel of timber surrounding it, with an altar for masses to be daily celebrated thereat for the health of his soul. ^s

By this will we become acquainted with the motive for annexing a chapel dedicated to "Our Lady," to a conventual church, namely, that it might serve both as a place of sepulture to the founder and his family, and that his 'soul's health' might not be neglected. A similar motive actuated Richard Beauchamp, Earl of Warwick, to found that sumptuous chapel at St. Mary's, at Warwick, wherein he and many of the succeeding Earls of Warwick lie buried.

We sometimes see tombs under arches in the wall of a church, evidently of more recent date than the wall itself; and we have an instance of the cutting into the wall for the purpose of making such an arch, in the will of Walter, Lord Fitzwalter, proved in 1432, who therein directed his body to be buried in the Priory of Dunmow, and willed that his executors should make an arch in the wall, near to the grave of his mother, and that his body, and the bodies of his wife and children, as likewise the bones of his mother, should be deposited therein, for the charges of which he bequeathed XL. marks. ^t

^s Nicholas' Testamenta Vetusta, p. 216.

^t Ibid. p. 221.

The cost of an inlaid brass effigy occurs in the will, dated in 1438, of Maud, Lady Morley, who left xx. marks for a marble stone, with her portraiture thereon in copper, or latten gilt.^u

A remarkable order for a tomb appears in the will, dated in 1439, of Isabel Beauchamp, Countess of Warwick, who desired her body to be buried in the Abbey of Tewkesbury, and willed that her statue should be made all naked, with her hair cast backwards, according to the design and model which Thomas Porchalion had for that purpose, with Mary Magdalen laying her hand across, and St. John the Evangelist on the right side, and St. Anthony on the left; at her feet a scutcheon, impaling her arms with those of the Earl, her husband, supported by two griffins; but on the sides thereof the statues of poor men and women, in their poor array, with their beads in their hands.^x

It is uncertain whether the order in her will for her naked statue, originating probably from a feeling of deep humility, was complied with, as no monument like the one described exists, though she was buried in the church at Tewkesbury, where a beautiful chantry chapel, founded by her, still remains.

In 1457, Master Robert Toste, provost of the collegiate church of Wingham, desired that his body might be buried on the uppermost step on the north side of the high altar, where the Gospel was read in the quire on holidays; and willed that a marble stone be laid over him, with an inscription, to induce people to pray for his soul.^y

The mantle or cloak, which first appears on effigies in armour, in the reign of Henry the Sixth, constituted part of

^u Nicholas' *Testamenta Vetusta*, p. 235.

^x *Ibid.* p. 239.

^y *Ibid.* p. 298.

the insignia of Knights of the Order of the Garter, and as such is noticed in the will of Sir Thomas Burgh, Knight, who, in 1495, after desiring that his body should be buried in his new chapel within the parish church of Gainsborough, in Lincolnshire, directed that a tomb should be made at the north end of the altar of the same, with two images or figures thereon, of himself in armour, and of his wife, with their arms, and the days of their obits, and that the image of himself should have his mantle of the Garter, and a garter about his legs. *

Such were the monuments of the fifteenth century, which, inferior in comparative simplicity and pure elegance of design to the chaste models of the Edwardian era, far exceeded them in rich display and exuberance of well-defined detail, and as yet were entirely free from that strange intermixture of Italian composition which afterwards crept in. Every species of ornament that could be devised, consistent with the prevailing mode, including cognizances, badges, rebuses, monograms, and other devices, was now abundantly lavished in the decoration of sepulchral chapels and tombs.

On the sculptured effigies much care and attention was bestowed: the minutest ornament on the dress and armour was elaborately copied; the drapery, as far as circumstances would permit, was gracefully adjusted; and the attitudes, though formal, were not without merit.

But the eve of that crisis was fast approaching, when, amidst religious dissensions, a variety of causes co-operated to accomplish a more perceptible change in the monumental designs of our ancestors than had ever before been effected. From the introduction and rapid progress of a new style of

* Nicholas' Testamenta Vetusta, p. 298.

art, after the Italian school, founded on the classic orders of antiquity, yet, when contrasted, essentially differing, originated the adoption of a barbarous incongruity of architectural composition, which, instead of the rich flowing outline and florid tracery characteristic of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, presented a peculiar combination of inelegant and cumbrous detail, no where more strikingly exemplified than in the tombs of the sixteenth century.



Canopied Monument, in Wolston Church, Warwickshire, of the latter part of the fifteenth, or early part of the sixteenth century.



**Monument in Duffield Church, Derbyshire, of Sir Roger Minors
and his Lady. A. D. 1536.**

CHAPTER XI.

OF SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS DURING THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

THE Italian school of design, as evinced in architectural structures based on antique models, began not to prevail, even in Italy, till about the commencement of the fifteenth century, when Brunnelleschi, a Florentine architect, having measured the ruins of Roman edifices and studied the proportions of the orders, discovered and restored to the world the long-lost principles of ancient art.

The system deduced from these principles continued for some time, however, to be but slowly developed; and it is rather to the beginning of the sixteenth century that the epocha of the revival of classic architecture may be ascribed.

It was then that, under the patronage of Julius II. and Leo X. and under the guidance of Bramante, Raphael, and Buonarrotti, the construction of St. Peter's, at Rome, commenced a new era in art.

Nor was it long before a taste for the mode thus adopted began to be displayed in this country, though in imperfect imitations, and compositions by no means of a pure and unmixed character; and early in the reign of Henry the Eighth we first perceive, on tombs, traces of that peculiar style, which was soon destined to supplant, not by a gradual transition, but by rapid and perceptible advances, the Gothic designs of the middle ages, which latter, though originally derived from the most corrupt species of Roman architecture, had nevertheless, by imperceptible degrees, become so essentially different, as to retain not a single feature in common with their ancient prototype.

But it was not till after the Reformation that the rich and costly monumental fabrics of late florid English character were superseded by an heterogeneous mixture of Grecian and Gothic detail, in compositions peculiar to the age; for the Italian and foreign architects, who were encouraged by the court of Henry the Eighth, and whose designs were followed by others, having no pure examples in this country to resort to, as in Italy, were constrained to have recourse to their own conceptions, and by an incorrect and unmeaning application of columns, entablatures, friezes, scroll work, and heraldic devices, formed a style, which prevailed throughout the latter half of the sixteenth, and the early part of the seventeenth century, as totally dissimilar to the classic designs of Greece and Rome, as many modern structures termed 'Gothic' are to the well constructed and exquisite productions of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

The total suppression of the monasteries, scattered over all parts of the kingdom, and in which the architecture of the middle ages was practically studied, was accompanied by a spirit of devastation much to be regretted; and the demolition of so many religious edifices proved fatal to the continuance of that mode, which from the twelfth century until that time had prevailed, and of which our monumental remains furnish so many beautiful and interesting specimens.

It is no wonder, then, that at such a crisis the introduction of a novel kind of monumental composition, which afforded by the aid of painting and gilding a meretricious display, according with the false and fantastic taste then prevalent, was encouraged to the detriment of the elaborate and well-conceived Gothic designs of previous ages, which the changes in the hierarchy, forms of worship, and religious ceremonies, were ill calculated to revive.

It unfortunately happened, also, that when means were taken to counteract the superstitious reverence paid to saints, the iconoclastic zeal of the early Reformers manifested itself not only in the destruction of roods, and other venerated images, but also in an indiscriminate devastation of the small sculptured figures which occupied the lateral niches of tombs and mortuary chapels; hence it is that we find at the present day many such niches void of statuary, and otherwise despoiled; and in this manner some of the most splendid monuments suffered severely. Brasses also were torn from the tombs to which they were affixed; nor were these excesses effectually put a stop to until the second year of the reign of Elizabeth, when a proclamation against them was issued by command of that princess.^a

^a This proclamation is published at length in Weever's Funeral Monuments; that part only which relates to the defacing of monuments I have subjoined:—

Sumptuous mortuary chapels, altar tombs with cumbent effigies, alabaster slabs with figures thereon cut in outline, and inlaid brass effigies, chiefly indicate the funeral memorials of the early part of the sixteenth century.

Of mortuary chapels, the chantry in Winchester Cathedral of Bishop Fox, who died in 1529, is one of the most gorgeous and stately exemplars of ancient monumental art.

On the south or principal front, where this monument is seen to the greatest advantage, four equal divisions constitute the breadth; in height there are two divisions. The lower story is composed of a plain basement, above which is

"The Queene's Maiestie understanding that by the means of sundrie people, partly ignorant, partly malicious or covetous, there hath been of late yeares spoiled and broken certaine ancient monuments, some of metall, some of stone, which were erected up as well in churches as in other publike places within this realm, onely to shew a memory to the posterity of the persons there buried, or that had bene benefactors to the building, or dotations of the same churches, or publike places, and not to nourish any kinde of superstition. By which meanes not onely the churches and places remaine at this present day spoiled, broken and ruinated, to the offence of all noble and gentle hearts, and the extinguishing of the honorable and good memory of sundry virtuous and noble persons deceased; but also the true understanding of divers families in this realme (who haue descended of the bloud of the same persons deceased) is thereby so darkened, as the true course of their inheritance may be hereafter interrupted, contrary to Justice, besides many other offences that doe hereof ensue to the slander of such as either gaue, or had charge in times past onely to deface monuments of Idolatry and false fained images in churches and abbayes. And therefore, although it be very hard to recover things broken and spoiled, yet both to provide that no such barbarous disorder be hereafter used, and to repaire as much of the said monuments as conveniently may bee: Her Maiestie chargeth and commandeth all manner of persons hereafter to forbear the breaking or defacing of any parcell of any monument, or tombe, or graue, or other inscription and memory of any person deceased, being in any manner of place; or of any other that haue bene in times past erected and set up, for the onely memory of them to their posterity in common churches, and not for any religious honour; upon paine that whosoever shall herein be found to offend, to be committed to the next Gaole, and there to remain without baile or mainprise, vnto the next comming of the Justices, for the delivery of the said Goale; and there to be further punished by fine or imprisonment (besides the restitution or re-edification of the thing broken) as to the said Justices shall seeme meete; vsing therein the aduise of the ordinary; and if needs shall bee, the aduise also of her Maiesties Councell in her Starre Chamber."

displayed a series of canopied niches containing pedestals for statuary, with pannelled tracery intervening; this is terminated above the height of the door by a frieze of sculptured foliage surmounted by a battlemented cornice. On this side also is an obtuse arched recess, which presents to the view of the spectator the effigies of an emaciated figure in a winding sheet. The upper story is developed in a series of four open-worked arches, obtusely pointed, and beneath each of these are two ogee-arched headed compartments, richly crocketed, and terminating with finials; each of these are subdivided by a transom and mullion. The principal arches or divisions are separated by polygonal turrets or buttresses, richly pannelled, rising from the basement, and finishing above the parapet in pinnacles of an octagonal shape: between these, though rising only from the cornice immediately beneath the parapet, are smaller pinnacles or turrets of like design, each supporting a pelican, the favorite device of the prelate. The mouldings of the cornice project considerably, and just beneath it is a frieze of entwined vine leaves and fruit, elaborately sculptured; the parapet is finished with a row of lozenge-shaped compartments enclosing quatrefoils, and the points of these present a series of the lozenge-shaped trefoil flower.

Access to the interior is obtained through a door on the same side, near the south-west angle of the fabric; the roof is richly groined, and behind the altar is a small oratory or closet.

The niches, tracery, and other decorative embellishments, which are abundantly lavished upon this sumptuous monument, will bear, as to delicacy and execution of the minutest ornament, the most scrupulous examination, and are yet so judiciously and tastefully disposed as to be perfectly subordinate to, and in keeping with, the general design. Upon

the whole, this mortuary chapel is far superior to those in the same Cathedral of Wyckham, Beaufort, and Waynflete, and is a splendid instance of the magnificence and perfection to which the art had attained just prior to its final declension.

Of the larger structures of this kind, not contained within any building—as the chantry of Bishop Fox is—Henry the Seventh's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, which is completely covered with tracery, and Wolsey's Tomb-house, St. George's Chapel, Windsor, built also by Henry the Seventh, are exceeding rich and sumptuous edifices.

Altar tombs were embellished much in the same manner as in the latter part of the fifteenth century, the sides being generally divided into square compartments, enriched with quatrefoils and other tracery, in the deep-cut recesses of which small shields were inserted, and the effigy was sometimes placed on a kind of raised plinth on the top of the tomb. Rich tombs were constructed beneath arched canopies or testoons, which in some instances are quite distinct from the tomb, having no immediate connection, though erected immediately over it.

The soffit or interior sweep of the arch of the testoon was deeply pannelled or groined, and the composition above, answering to the entablature in Grecian architecture, decorated with ornamental tracery: the cornice, when horizontal, consisted of a bold hollow moulding, containing at certain intervals flowers, with projecting mouldings above, and it was generally finished on the top with a row of flowers of three leaves, in the shape of a lozenge: the angles of the canopied testoons were often flanked by pannelled buttresses or turrets of an octagonal form, surmounted by ogee-shaped cupolas, crocketed on the angles, and terminating in a finial.

The bold hollow moulding with flowers was at this period very generally used in the composition of tombs and the canopies over; the lozenge-shaped flower was also very common, and chiefly appears as a finish to such canopies.

Of the rich monuments with canopies may be instanced that in Brington Church, Northamptonshire, of Sir John Spencer, who died in 1522; and that in Canterbury Cathedral, of Archbishop Wareham, who died in 1532.

The tomb on which the effigies of Sir John Spencer and his lady recline is erected on a plain plinth or basement, and the sides above the base mouldings are divided by small pinnacled buttresses into three square compartments, each occupied by a cusped quatrefoil, inclosing a shield; the corners also are filled up with foliated tracery of similar character; above these is a fine bold hollow moulding, containing at certain distances the square flower of four leaves; above this is a projecting slab of a few bold mouldings, on which is the plain slab or plinth whereupon the statues repose.

The canopy, which is distinct from the tomb, except at the west end where it joins, consists of an obtuse pointed arch struck from four centres, of good proportion, and open on both sides; the soffit is entirely covered with tracery, forming pannels deeply recessed, and this is continued down the sides at each end; in each spandrell or space between the spring and apex of the arch and the horizontal moulding over, is a shield with armorial bearings, and the remainder of the spandrell is filled with tracery. The square head over the arch is composed of a bold hollow and other mouldings, and above this the part answering to the frieze in classical designs is richly ornamented with cusped quatrefoils and other tracery, with a row of foliage beneath: in the centre of the frieze is an heraldic design, consisting of a jousting

shield, with the helmet, wreath, coronet, and crest, surrounded by mantlings; above the frieze is a bold hollow moulding, containing the usual intervening flowers, the cornice, consisting of a few elegant mouldings, is finished with a series of the lozenge-shaped flower, with smaller flowers between two larger; at each angle of the canopy an octagonal-shaped buttress, the sides of which are pannelled, arises from a moulded basement to a little above the cornice; the head is embattled, and crowned by a cupola terminating in a finial, and crocketed at the angles.

The canopy over the tomb of Archbishop Wareham is also exceedingly rich, though the design is different to the one last described; this canopy projects from the wall, and is open only in front, the back and sides of the interior are pannelled, and the soffit or cieling groined; the composition in front consists of three obtuse-shaped arches, richly foliated, cusped, and feathered, with crocketed ogee canopies over them, the space between which and the obtuse arch beneath, is filled up with tracery; above these, which are pendent, the design is composed of open-worked pannelled tracery, and the cornice is formed of the bold hollow moulding with flowers, and a few projecting mouldings above; the whole is finished by rows of the lozenge-shaped flower ornament; each arch, and the tracery above, is divided by angular buttresses rising considerably above the cornice, and terminating in crocketed pinnacles; the design is flanked in front by a series of canopied recesses of polygonal shape, the pedestals of which are pannelled.

The sides of the tomb, which is placed beneath this very rich specimen of art, are divided into square compartments of similar design to those on the tomb of Sir John Spencer, but more in number; a bold hollow moulding with flowers appears under a projecting slab, on which is

a plain raised plinth, whereon the figure of the archbishop in pontificals, and with the crozier and mitre, reclines.

Of altar tombs without canopies, of the early part of this century, the monument in Westminster Abbey of Sir Giles Dawbeney and his lady, the former of whom died in 1507, is an example; the sides are covered by lozenge-shaped compartments, foliated within, and containing shields, with pannelled tracery intervening. The tomb in Coleshill Church, Warwickshire, of Symon Digby, who died in 1519, is very similar to this.

Some monuments consisted merely of alabaster slabs, with figures cut in outline. In Bulkington Church, Warwickshire, is a stone of this description, of the date of 1530, commemorative of Christopher Sadeler, whose portraiture, together with those of his two wives, and smaller portraitures beneath of his eight sons and two daughters, are engraved or cut thereon, and round the verge is a latin inscription, with the usual termination.

Brasses of this period, of which there are many, often pourtray the effigies of a man and his wife, with smaller effigies of their children beneath them; at the corners of the stone small shields were inserted, and the inscription was carried round the verge.

No era is more remarkable in the annals of this country for the various changes that took place at or near the same period of time, than the Reformation, and the half century immediately succeeding it.

The national taste seems then to have undergone a complete mutation, since these changes appear not only in the religion of the people, but also in their manners, dress, and customs; in the general increase of knowledge, and the cultivation of polite literature. In the architectural structures of the age, whether ecclesiastical, military, or civil,

the alteration is very perceptible, and perhaps it is no where more apparent than in monumental designs.

This latter was chiefly effected by the influx of architects from abroad, who having studied in the schools of Italy, introduced into this country the Palladian or Italian style, the early progress of which may be traced by its occasional intermixture with the Gothic, which incongruity cannot be mistaken; it is, moreover, chiefly apparent in the divisional and ornamental details along the sides of altar tombs, where twisted columns or pilasters, bas-reliefs, foliage, arabesques, and scroll-work, forming an inexplicable variety of unmeaning and fantastic decoration, supply the place of pinnaced buttresses, florid tracery, and deep-cut quatrefoil recesses; more especially do we see its establishment in the circular-arched canopies and flat heavy entablatures, supported by pillars of the different orders, which during the reign of Elizabeth were very general, and of which we have numerous examples.

Even before the Reformation, in some few instances a departure from English composition may be discerned; and probably the earliest known specimen in the new or Italian mode is the celebrated tomb of Henry the Seventh, executed in a masterly manner by Pietro Torregiano, a Florentine sculptor, between the years 1516 and 1519.

This, though placed in one of the most enriched fabrics of the late Gothic or Florid style, and inclosed within a splendid open-worked screen of brass, designed nearly after the same fashion as the decorative tracery of the chapel, is notwithstanding totally dissimilar, displaying not a single architectural feature in accordance with the building erected to receive it.

The tomb is fashioned entirely after the Italian taste; above the basement, the upper part of which is decorated

with foliage, the sides are formed into three divisions by pilasters with Corinthian capitals, and the faces of the pilasters are covered with arabesque ornament. Each division contains within a circular wreath of foliage, groups of figures in bas-relief, which severally represent St. Michael and the Devil, the Virgin and Child, St. George and St. Anthony, St. Christopher and St. Ann, Edward the Confessor and a Benedictine Nun, and Mary Magdalen and St. Barbara; above is a kind of frieze and cornice, and over all is a raised plinth, the verge of which is embellished with foliage, on this the recumbent effigies of the King and his Queen recline, and at each corner of the tomb is an angel in a sitting attitude.

The tomb in Westminster Abbey of Margaret, Countess of Richmond, mother to Henry the Seventh, with her effigy thereon in brass, is also of Italian composition; and though it was probably not erected till some years after her decease, it is an early specimen of the style; the sides are formed into divisions by Doric pilasters, the faces of which are fluted, and within each division surrounded by a circular device of foliage, very similar to that on the tomb of Henry the Seventh, is an escutcheon or shield, with a coronet above.

But, with the exception of the wreaths of foliage and pilasters, the tombs of Henry the Seventh and his mother exhibit few of the fanciful enrichments common to monuments of the Elizabethan era, and which it would be difficult either to enumerate or define.

An early monument on which these decorations occur, is that in Battle Church, Sussex, of Sir Anthony Brown, erected about the year 1540. It consists of an altar tomb, bearing the effigies of himself and his lady, with a rich canopy above the head of the latter; the sides are covered

with bas-reliefs of figures and bustos without drapery, heraldic griffins, scroll-work, and foliage, and are formed into three divisions by pillars, the pedestals, shafts, and capitals of which are variously and fantastically ornamented, but reducible to no certain order. Each of these divisions contains an escutcheon, the middle one having two naked boys as supporters. In the incongruous details of this curious tomb there is nothing at all approximating to the ancient Gothic style, nor is it by any means of pure Italian design, but rather an heterogeneous composition based on the latter, peculiar to this country, and the age.

Notwithstanding, however, some few specimens to the contrary, the Gothic style continued to be followed till the Reformation, after which it was generally disused, and towards the close of the century, altar tombs with sumptuous canopies, almost entirely of Italian detail in composition, though not of classic design, were very prevalent.

The struggle at this period between Gothic and Roman architecture must not, however, be lost sight of, since it is clearly observable in the intermixture of the component parts of both. Thus the tomb in Cumnor Church, Berks. of Anthony Foster, is surmounted by a canopy supported by pillars of the Roman Ionic order; and, excepting these, the whole of the monument and canopy is of late florid Gothic composition; this intermixture may likewise be observed, more or less, on other tombs of the same era.

But from the Reformation to the close of the sixteenth century, most of our monumental remains will be found to be comprehended under one of the following classes.

First, Altar tombs with cumbent effigies beneath circular arcades, the soffits of which are richly pannelled, surmounted by highly-finished entablatures, which are supported at the angles by columns of the different orders; above these other

arcades and entablatures of smaller dimensions, supported also by columns, often arise; the whole is finished with obelisks, and escutcheons surrounded with scroll-work, and on a plain tablet at the back of the arched recess, immediately over the effigy, and surrounded also with scroll-work, the inscription, which at this period, in conformity with the conceits of the age, was often very long and pompous, is usually placed.

These stately memorials are composed of various coloured marbles, fancifully decorated with painting, gilding, and sculpture, and present a combination and infinite variety of arches, columns, tablets, pyramids, obelisks, escutcheons, arabesques, and scroll-work, and are chiefly indicative of the last twenty years of the reign of Elizabeth, and the early part of the reign of her successor, James.

The monument in the Beauchamp Chapel, Warwick, of Robert Dudley, the celebrated Earl of Leicester, who died in 1588, is a gorgeous specimen of this description. In Westminster Abbey are several partaking of the same general style of design, though in composition the details are varied; they are likewise to be met with in many churches in the country; and that in Ashford Church, Kent, of Sir Thomas Smith, who died in 1591, is represented by the vignette at the end of the chapter as an example in illustration.

Secondly, Altar tombs with cumbent effigies beneath pondrous square and flat pedimental canopies or entablatures, supported at the angles and sides by columns, chiefly of the Corinthian or composite order: these first appeared at the latter part of this, but became more common in the early part of the succeeding century.

Of this class is the monument in Coughton Church, Warwickshire, of Sir John Throckmorton, who died in 1580; and the monument in Borley Church, Essex, of Sir Edward

Waldegrave, and Frances his wife, the former of whom died in 1561, the latter in 1599.

Thirdly, Upright monuments affixed to walls, where, beneath an entablature supported by columns, small sculptured figures, either kneeling before a faldstool or desk, or else in a standing attitude, appear. Large monuments of this kind are sometimes divided horizontally, the entablature of the lower serving as a basement for the upper compartment, both entablatures being supported by pillars and pilasters. Within these compartments the principal figures, which represent the heads of a family, are much less than life, and their children are proportionably smaller. Those effigies of children which appear in swaddling bands are conjectured to be such as have died infants; the inscription is generally beneath the effigies on the base, escutcheons appear on various parts of the monument, and the top is commonly finished by an escutcheon and scroll-work.

The monument in Aston Church, Warwickshire, of Edward Holt, who died in 1592, and that in the Church of Newbold-upon-Avon, in the same county, of Edward Boughton, and Elizabeth his wife, the former of whom died in 1548, the latter in 1583, are of this kind: more numerous specimens of which, however, are to be found in the early part of the seventeenth century.

Fourthly, Altar tombs with cumbent effigies, and in the description of these are included both such as are placed beneath canopies and those that are without, the divisions along the sides are in most instances formed either by a kind of ballusters, twisted columns, pillars of some one of the orders, or pilasters, and embellished with escutcheons full of quarterings, and sometimes both with escutcheons and effigies of small dimensions, which appear both in standing and kneeling attitudes, and when in the former position

often serve as supporters : on the sides of some tombs are only effigies kneeling, one behind another ; the inscription is usually carried round the verge of a tomb where there is no canopy. Altar tombs of the reign of Elizabeth often present their sides covered with that kind of shallow panneling, arabesques, carved and scroll-work, for which the latter part of the sixteenth century was remarkable.



Wade's Monument in St. Michael's Church, Coventry.
cir. A. D. 1550.

A tomb in St. Michael's Church, Coventry, the date of which may be ascribed to about the middle of this century, presents on the side exposed to view six sculptured figures of males and females, in the costume apparently of the reign of Edward the Sixth or Mary ; the drapery on these figures is well disposed, and they are placed under canopies alternately round and ogee-headed, divided by a kind of balluster columns ; the spaces above the arches, and the facing of the pilaster at the angle of the tomb, are covered with arabesques. This monument is better described by the annexed vignette, and, excepting the ogee-shaped arches,

partakes of nothing at all approaching the Gothic style, nor can the details be said to be classic; but it is an early specimen of that indescribable kind of composition, originating from Italian designs, which at this period began to prevail.

An early altar tomb of the Elizabethan era is that in Trinity College Chapel, Oxford, of Sir Thomas Pope, who died in 1558, and on which the effigies of himself and his Lady recline; along the sides are square compartments, each filled with a wreath or chaplet, containing a shield charged with armorial bearings, and the divisional pannels are covered with arabesque ornament; the head of the tomb is divided into two compartments, each of which contains a figure in the dress of the time, the one a male, the other a female, supporting a shield.

But the embellishments for the sides of altar tombs much varied; and those of this period will in general be found to contain more or less of the details before specified.

Fifthly, Monumental brasses affixed to slabs or altar tombs; these often represent the effigies of a man and his wife, with those of their children below them; armorial escutcheons appear on various parts of the slab, and the inscription, likewise in brass, runs round the ledge or rim. The disuse of the inlaid canopy or tabernacle work over the heads of the principal figures is now apparent.

Other marks which characterize the monuments of this era, are the differences in the armour and dress in which the various effigies appear; the attitudes also began to be diversified, and sepulchral effigies of the size of life supporting their heads on the right hand and arm, and leaning on the right side, are, towards the close of the century, not unfrequent. In these instances we may observe the first deviation from the recumbent position to the kneeling,

sitting, and erect attitude, in which monumental effigies of full size became by degrees to be afterwards sculptured; but as yet recumbent effigies with the hands joined on the breast were most common.

Effigies in armour often appear reclining on mats, rolled up at the end so as to form a pillow for the head; though in most cases the head is supported by the tilting helmet.

It was customary even before the Reformation to represent children on the same slab beneath the effigies of their parents, where the figures were cut in outline, or of brass inlaid, and these appear either in a standing or kneeling attitude; but not till after that era do we observe sculptured effigies of children kneeling along the sides of tombs, and when this is the case, the males generally appear kneeling before a desk or faldstool, one behind another, on the one side, and the females opposite to them, on the other side. The eldest son is sometimes represented alone in armour, whilst his younger brethren are clad in long gowns, cloaks, or coats; occasionally both males and females kneel in succession the same way.

Inscriptions prior to, and during the early part of, the reign of Henry the Eighth, generally commenced as before, if in Latin with '*Orate pro anima*' or '*Hic Jacet*,' and the common termination in that language was '*Ejus anime*' or '*Quorum animabus*,' &c. if in English the epitaph began, '*Of your charitie pray for the soul of,*' or '*Here lieth the body of,*' and ended with '*On whose soul God have mercy. Amen.*'

After the reformation the phrases '*Orate pro anima*,' and '*Pray for the soul of,*' being considered superstitious, were no longer used; but the terminations '*Ejus anime*,' &c. '*On whose soul,*' &c. continued to the end of the century.

About the end of the reign of Henry the Eighth inscriptions in the old black letter, or Gothic style, were succeeded by others in the Roman round hand, which now first made its appearance, though the other still continued, till it fell by degrees into disuse. Towards the close of the century long pompous epitaphs in Latin, so frequent during the seventeenth century, came into fashion.



Monumental Effigy in Duffield Church, Derbyshire, of Sir Roger Minors,
A. D. 1536.

In the reign of Henry the Eighth defensive armour, with the exception of a skirt or apron of mail round the loins, was composed entirely of plate. Cumbent effigies in armour appear with the head bare, and the hair cropped short, and recline on crested helmets; the breast-plate was of a globular form, with a projecting rim at top; large pauldrons turned up at the edges, with overlapping plates below, pro-

tected the shoulders and upper part of the arms, which were further defended by rere-braces, ornamented elbow pieces, and vambraces, the latter terminating at the wrist with a raised rim; below the breast-plate was a skirt of taces, to which, in the early part of the century, angular-shaped tuilles were affixed, but the tuilles were afterwards discarded for tassetts, formed of different overlapping plates, the lowermost rounded, which covered the upper part of the thighs, and were attached to the taces by straps; beneath an arched aperture formed by the tassetts, and between them, was the baguette, or cod-piece, an unseemly projection of mail first introduced in this reign; the thighs and legs were further protected by cuisses, highly-ornamented genouilleres, jambs, and sollerets, formed of jointed plates, square or round at the toes. On the left side the sword was worn, suspended from a belt buckled horizontally round the body, just above the hips, and on the right side was a dagger. Over the armour a long robe or cloak was frequently worn, fastened by a clasp in front on the breast, whence it fell open to the feet: the hands were upheld on the breast; and it was customary during this century to represent the gauntlets, composed of overlapping plates, without finger divisions, lying on the tomb by the side of the right or left leg; they sometimes appear at the feet, but the former mode was most general. About the middle of this reign the breast-plate became in some instances edged down the centre, and afterwards came to a projecting point called the tapul.—Massy chains worn round the neck were common during the whole of this century.

In the reign of Edward the Sixth the breast-plate became longer waisted, and the projection of the tapul was lowered to the bottom; in other respects the armour was much the same as in the preceding reign.

During the short reign of Mary no particular change in the body armour appears to have been made; but the emblazoned tabard was at this period occasionally worn over the armour, as is evident from the brass effigy in Strensham Church, Worcestershire, of Sir John Russell, Knight, who died in 1556.

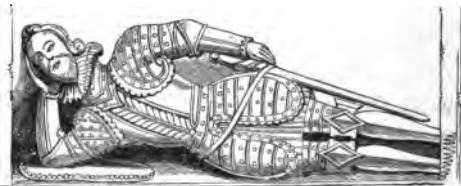


Monumental Effigies in Trinity College Chapel, Oxford, of Sir Thomas Pope and Lady. A. D. 1558.

The monumental effigy in Duffield Church, Derbyshire, of Sir Roger Minors, who died in 1536, and the effigy in the chapel of Trinity College, Oxford, of Sir Thomas Pope, who died in 1558, are presented in illustration of the body armour worn during the reigns of Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixth, and Mary; the chief distinction being, that in the former, tuilles are represented as covering the upper part of the thighs; in the latter, tassetts of overlapping plates, rounded at the bottom, and attached to the taces by straps.

The effigy in Brington Church, Northamptonshire, of Sir John Spencer, who died in 1522, exhibits the cloak or mantle worn over the armour.

In the reign of Elizabeth, however, there is a striking difference in the appearance of sepulchral effigies in armour; they are represented bare-headed, with long curled hair, mustachios, and a beard, and with quilled ruffs round the neck and wrists, and a double chain pendent from the shoulders. The body armour consisted of a gorget, long and narrow-waisted breast and back plates, formed with short skirts, and projecting rims at the bottom; to the skirt of the breast-plate tassets were attached, which at this period were each formed of one piece, though marked as to resemble several, and scalloped at the edges; the pauldrons were large, and covered the shoulder and upper part of the arms down to the elbow pieces, below which were vambraces; the borders of the pauldrons were escalated. Puckered skirts, or trunk hose, were sometimes worn over the upper part of the thighs, and beneath the tassets, and occasionally a skirt of mail. Cuisses, genouilles, jambs, and sollerets, completed the suit, with the exception of the tilting helme and gauntlets, the former of which is generally found supporting the head of the effigy, and crested; the latter by the side of the legs. On the right side a dagger, and on the left a sword, was worn.



Effigy of one of the Fettiplace family, in Swinbrook Church, Oxfordshire.
Temp. Elizabeth.

In the chancel of Swinbrook Church, Oxfordshire, is a curious and highly interesting monument of the Elizabethan age, which exhibits in separate compartments, one above the other, three effigies in highly ornamented armour of the above description. Each appears, not in a recumbent position, but reclining sideways, supported by the right hand and arm.

The costume in which the effigies of merchants, members of corporate bodies, and other male personages, were sculptured or engraved, consisted, in the early part of this century, of long gowns with loose sleeves, fastened about the loins by a girdle, to which the gipciere or pouch was attached: The inlaid brass effigy in Higham Ferrers Church, Northamptonshire, of William Thorpe, mercer, who died in 1509, represents him as thus habited; and in the same church is the brass portraiture of a man in a gown, with long open sleeves, representing Arthur Soveryn, who died in 1518. But from about the reign of Edward the Sixth a marked change is apparent; and from thence to the close of the century the dress was chiefly composed of coats or doublets, resembling sleeved waistcoats, and buttoned down in front, puffed breeches or trunk hose, tight pantaloons or stockings, and long gowns, without sleeves, faced with fur. In the reign of Elizabeth, or a short time previous, quilled ruffs worn round the neck, and ruffles round the wrist, came into fashion. In the same reign, also, we first observe the well-trimmed beard and mustachios, the custom of wearing which originated soon after the Reformation, and so continued to the middle of the seventeenth century, when it fell into disuse.

On a monument in Newbold Church, Warwickshire, of the date of 1583, amongst other figures is a small-sized effigy of a man in a standing attitude. His attire consists

of a short coat or doublet, with sleeves, buttoned down in front, and reaching only to the loins; the thighs and legs are covered with trunk hose, which fall short of the knees, and tight pantaloons; over all he wears a long loose gown, open in front, and without sleeves, and round his neck is a ruff.

In Enfield Church, Middlesex, is the monumental brass of William Smith, who died in 1592, and was servant to Henry the Eighth, Edward the Sixth, Mary, and Elizabeth: it exhibits him as attired in a doublet, with sleeves, buttoned down in front, and a long furred gown, without sleeves, with a ruff about his neck.



Effigy of Sir Edward Montagu, Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench.
A. D. 1556.

The recumbent effigy in Weekley Church, Northamptonshire, of Sir Edward Montagu, Lord Chief Justice of the

King's Bench in the reign of Henry the Eighth, who died in 1556, shews the official robes appertaining to that high legal station. The head, which reposes on cushions, one heaped upon another, is covered by a close capucium, or hood, over which is the judicial cornered cap; on the body is the gown, the robes of which flow in large folds to the feet, and the long loose sleeves display those of the tunic, or doublet, worn underneath, and fitting close; over the gown is the tippet, which covers the shoulders and breast; a mantle, fastened on the right shoulder, is thrown aside across the body; the wrists are encircled by ruffles, and rings are seen on each little finger, as well as on the third finger of the right hand.

The judicial robes thus consisted of the gown, faced with minever, tippet, mantle, and hood, and a cornered cap.



Pedimental Head Dress, on the Effigy of the lady of Sir Roger Minors.
A. D. 1536.

Until about the middle of this century the pedimental head dress, with a veil or tippet hanging down behind, was chiefly in fashion amongst females of rank, and the hair was braided in front; the gown was low bodied, open at the neck so as to expose the bosom, and fitted close down to the waist, round which it was environed by a band or girdle: from the short and loose hanging demi sleeves of the gown

issue the long sleeves of the petticoat, or inner vest; the under part of these were drawn or gathered up in knots, and on the wrists were ruffles.

A specimen of the female habit thus described is represented by the vignette of the monumental effigy in Duffield Church, Derbyshire, of the lady of Sir Roger Minors, who died in 1536. The reticulated pedimental head dress on the same effigy is likewise here delineated.



Effigy in Duffield Church, of the lady of Sir Roger Minors.
A. D. 1536.

To the pedimental head dress succeeded, towards the middle of the century, a close and round head attire or cap, and the hair was parted in front, and braided; the habit then consisted of a high bodied gown, slightly open in front of the neck, about which it formed a kind of standing cape;

to the body large hanging demi-sleeves were attached, and out of these appear the long sleeves of the petticoat gathered up close, with ruffles over the wrists. Ruffs in nebule folds, though of small dimensions, now first began to be worn round the neck, and from the band round the waist a cordon, with a pendent ornament at the end, hung down.

The vignette in p. 235, exhibiting the effigy in Trinity College Chapel, Oxford, of Margaret, the lady of Sir Thomas Pope, who died in 1558, shews the female dress as worn towards the middle of this century.

In the reign of Elizabeth the stomacher, or bodiced gown, with sleeves reaching to the wrists, and gathered up very full at the shoulders, indicates a change of fashion; the skirt or train to the bodice was very large and bulging from the hips on all sides, and from the waistband a pendent ornament or book, attached to the end of a cordon or chain, was suspended; mantles, flowing to the feet, and fastened across the breast by tasselled cordons, were common, and sometimes huge hollow hoods or calashes appear at the back of the head; wide spreading ruffs were worn round the neck, ruffles on the wrists, and from the shoulders chains were often hung.

The neck ruffs, which in the reigns of Mary, Elizabeth, and James the First, formed one of the most prominent characteristics both in male and female apparel, seem to have been introduced towards the close of the reign of Henry the Eighth. In the reign of Mary they were common, but did not then attain to that immense size which peculiarly distinguished the succeeding reigns, when the fashion became universal. The plaited nebule folds of these ruffs were, as they gradually increased in size, stretched out by means of poking sticks or quills, of ivory, wood, or metal, and, until the introduction of starched linen ruffs, were thus sustained.

No change was effected in the robes of ecclesiastics, until the Reformation, when most of the ceremonial rites and usages of the Romish church were abolished, or greatly modified, and many of the gorgeous vestments of the clergy being discarded as vain and useless, some of the more simple only were retained.

The sacerdotal habits adopted by the early ministers of the Reformed church, and in which they were required to officiate, are prescribed by two of the rubrics contained in the first Common Prayer Book, of the second year of the reign of King Edward the Sixth.

The one which relates to such as were to be worn in all public administrations ordains that—"In the saying or singing of mattens or even-song, baptizing and burying, the minister in parish-churches and chapels annexed to the same shall use a surplice. And in all cathedral churches and colleges, archdeacons, deans, provosts, masters, prebendaries, and fellows, being graduates, may use in the choir, besides their surplices, such hoods as pertain to their several degrees which they have holden in any university within this realm; but in all other places every minister shall be at liberty to use any surplice or no. It is also seemly that graduates, when they do preach, should use such hoods as pertaineth to their several degrees. And whenever the bishop shall celebrate the Holy Communion in the church, or execute any other public ministration, he shall have upon him, beside his rochette, a surplice or alb, and a cope or vestment,^b and also his pastoral staff in his hand, or else borne or holden by his chaplain."^c

The other rubric appoints only the habits to be worn at the Communion, as follows :—

^b The chesible so called.

^c Wheatly's Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer, p. 100.

“ Upon the day and at the time appointed for the ministration of the Holy Communion, the priest that shall execute the holy ministry, shall put upon him the vesture appointed for that ministration, that is to say, a white alb, plain, with a vestment or cope. And where there be many priests or deacons, there so many shall be ready to help the priest in the ministration, as shall be requisite; and shall have upon them likewise the vestures appointed for the ministry, that is to say, albes with tunicles.”^d

But even these ministerial ornaments were offensive to some of the early Reformers, who considered them as idolatrous, and savouring of Popery, and therefore in the revision of the Liturgy, made in the fifth year of the reign of Edward the Sixth, the two rubrics in the first Common Prayer Book relating to the priestly habits were left out, and the following one substituted in their stead:—

“ And here it is to be noted that the minister at the time of the Communion, and at all other times in his ministration, shall use neither alb, vestment, or cope; but being archbishop or bishop, he shall have and wear a rochette; and being a priest or deacon, he shall have and wear a surplice only.”^e

However, in the seventh year of the reign of Elizabeth it was again enjoined that the minister, in time of his ministration, should use such ornaments as were in use in the second year of the reign of Edward the Sixth, namely, a surplice in the ordinary ministration, and a cope in the time of ministration of the Holy Communion.

The alb, cope, and tunicle, as also the bishop's pastoral staff, have long fallen into disuse, but the surplice has ever since been worn by the minister, who is likewise entitled to

^d Wheatly's Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer, p. 100.

^e Ibid.

wear his proper hood, the use of which is now by the colour and fashion to denote the degree of the person wearing it, and it is worn falling back, and hanging from the neck by the lower end.

Towards the close of this century bishops appear in the chimere, an upper robe of black silk, to which the white lawn sleeves were attached; round the neck was a ruff, and the head was covered with a close coif, or cap of black silk, velvet, or satin.

The effigy in Canterbury Cathedral of Archbishop Warham, who died in 1532, represents that prelate in his pontifical vestments, with the crozier under his right arm, and his hands are joined in prayer: the cushion on which the head reposes is supported on each side by an angel; and at the feet are the effigies of two priests kneeling, each holding an open missal.

In the Church of Sutton Coldfield, Warwickshire, is the monumental effigy of John Harman, Bishop of Exeter, who died in 1555, and was buried at that place. He is represented in his episcopal vestments, as worn previous to the Reformation, and with the mitre and pastoral crook.

The early episcopal habit of the Reformed church is represented in the recumbent effigy in Croydon Church, Surrey, of Grindal, Archbishop of Canterbury, who died in 1583.

The inlaid brass effigy in St. Benedict's Chapel, Westminster Abbey, of Dr. William Bill, first Dean of Westminster, who died in 1561, represents him as habited in his gown, or surplice, and hood.^f

Of monumental sculpture after the Reformation—for it is then that a broad line of demarcation may be drawn—it

^f Wheatly's "Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer," and Palmer's "Origines Liturgicæ," may be referred to as containing much information on the vestments worn by the ministers of the Church of England.

is impossible to speak in terms of praise. Perhaps, indeed, at no period subsequent to the twelfth century were the true principles of taste in composition less understood or acted upon; and yet this was the era when the schools of art in Italy were in their most flourishing condition.

But a certain degree of action is requisite to dispose of drapery with effect; and the armour in which effigies were represented was heavy and inelegant in outline, and the robes or dress, where armour was not worn, were seldom disposed happily, or with freedom. Nor did the female costume, stiff and formal, afford much scope for the artist to evince his taste in the arrangement of the folds: the attitudes in which the effigies were sculptured were much constrained, though they were not always recumbent; and the sepulchral brasses betoken likewise a poverty in the knowledge of design, as compared with those of former ages. In lieu of tasteful compositions, we have the tawdry concomitants of painting and gilding in profusion, and nondescript ornament added to the pomp of heraldic display. From this infinite variety of individual detail, a whole was the result, sufficiently meretricious to dazzle for a time the eyes of the multitude, though neither chaste in principle, or calculated for the study of a future age.

The low state to which the art of sculpture in this country was reduced during the latter part of this century, may in a great degree be attributed to the operation of that revolution which had just been accomplished, for the discountenance thereby thrown on sculptures of a religious description, against which an outcry had been raised, and the as yet incipient designs introduced in uncouth and partial imitations of the foreign schools of art, may be traced in the monumental sculpture and architecture of the era immediately succeeding that event; and such were the chief

causes of the change which then took place in the form, composition, and decorative embellishment of tombs.

We have to regret the destruction, during the progress of the Reformation, of many monuments of ancient art : the continuance of such a system was prevented by Elizabeth, but not before the baneful effects were severely felt. It would have been well if iconoclastic zeal, so far at least as monumental sculpture was concerned, had never again been roused.



Monument in Ashford Church, Kent, of Sir Thomas Smith.
A. D. 1591.



**Monument in Churchover Church, Warwickshire, of Charles Dixwell, Esq.
and Abigail his wife, and their children.
Erected A. D. 1641.**

CHAPTER XII.

OF SEPULCHRAL MONUMENTS DURING THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

So quickly and completely had that peculiar style arising from the continental or Italian, superseded the old English mode in the general outline and appearance of monumental composition, that at the dawn of the seventeenth century, the many tasteful and interesting memorials of ancient art which enriched the Gothic structures of the middle ages, were, as exemplars, altogether discarded, in the rage for

monuments of a character totally dissimilar, the offspring of certain pedantic rules, more shewy perhaps in appearance, though in their constituent features less elaborately defined.

These, which in many of their component details approximated, though as a whole essentially differed from designs of pure classic character, were remarkable rather for the costliness of the materials, the variegated marbles used for columns and entablatures, and the painting and gilding with which they abounded, according to the then prevailing taste, than for either severity of style, or effect resulting from simplicity of arrangement, ornament unclassic and exuberant, ponderous ceilings and entablatures, heavy cornices surmounted by escutcheons, within scroll work fancifully carved, with embellishment of the same description on the pedestals of columns and around insculptured tablets, were then deemed necessary adjuncts in the conception of sepulchral designs; but even from the very commencement of this century, we may perceive a gradual though evident departure from the fantastic yet gorgeous style of the Elizabethan era; and no one who has attentively compared the larger monuments of that period with those of the reigns of James the First and Charles the First, can doubt but that a very considerable change was in progress. The chief indications of this change are apparent in a perceptible diminution of profuse ornament, and the disuse, in many instances, of circular arcades beneath flat entablatures; nor do the monuments of this era altogether possess that meretricious display which distinguish those of the long and courtly reign of Elizabeth; but the details and component parts are much fewer in number, and assume a bolder and more decided character.

In the reign of Charles the First, an approach towards a more classic taste is evinced: to this period we may

ascribe the origin of the English modern school of sculpture; invention, grouping, and composition, founded on a better knowledge of the principles of art, arise in opposition to the former servile imitations of constrained attitudes and formal positions of sculptured effigies, kneeling in succession; the architectural features are likewise more judiciously arranged, though in the midst of the divided pediment, now becoming a frequent characteristic, especially of mural monuments, the sculptured escutcheon, often the only relic or symbol of the ancient sepulchral achievement, continued to form a prominent part of the design, as it had done from the early part of the fifteenth century. But the progress of sculptured design, as applied to funeral monuments, was checked for a time in the middle of this century by the dissensions between the crown and the people; and it is matter of deep and unavailing regret, that the triumph of the latter should have been sullied by atrocities perpetrated under the guise of religion. Of the leaders who advocated the cause of the people, some endeavoured to prevent those profane and sacrilegious outrages against the sanctuaries and monuments of the dead which cloud the annals of the time; but the puritanical divines had infused into the minds of the people a feeling of wild enthusiasm, subversive of all religious institutions and existing formularies; and so completely had fanaticism, at this period, the ascendancy, that throughout the kingdom hardly a church escaped spoliation; tombs were violated, monuments were defaced, and numerous fine brasses, partly for the sake of gain, and professedly on account of the obnoxious inscriptions around them, which began with "*Orate pro anima*," were torn from the pavement, and sold.

In the enthusiastic hatred for all church ornaments, the cathedrals in particular were exposed to rapine, plunder, and

profanation. At Canterbury, the monuments of the dead were defaced; and the same was the case at Exeter, where the heads of many monumental statues were struck off;—at Peterborough, not a single monument in the cathedral was left uninjured, and many slabs were deprived of their brasses;—at Winchester, the beautiful sepulchral chapel of Bishop Fox was greatly defaced; nor did the monuments of Beaufort, Waynflete, and others, escape the ravages of these fanatical vandals; the sepulchres of the dead were also shamefully violated, and the bones of many of the ancient Saxon kings and princes, as also those of prelates, and of other persons of distinction, interred there through a long succession of ages, thrown out and scattered over the pavement of the church;—at Gloucester, amongst other works of violence, the curious oaken monumental effigy, commonly ascribed to represent Robert, Duke of Normandy, eldest son of William the First, (though certainly not of that age) was torn in pieces by the soldiers, with the intention of burning it; but in this state it was fortunately purchased by Sir Humphrey Tracy, of Stanway, who privately preserved it till the Restoration, when he caused the old pieces to be put together again, and the monument to be repaired;—at Rochester, however, a better feeling prevailed, the leaders of the parliamentary forces had, happily, sufficient influence to prevent such destructive practices, and the monuments of the dead, which elsewhere were defaced, were in that cathedral left inviolate. But the other cathedrals, and numerous churches, underwent similar devastations, and the tombs of many noble families were, whilst the work of violence was going on, overthrown or greatly injured.^g From the Restoration, when such churches as

^g The scenes of devastation which took place during the civil wars in most of the cathedrals, and many other churches, are described in the “Mercurius

had been left in a dilapidated condition were repaired or rebuilt, and all apparent danger of future profanation averted, the monumental designs principally consisted of such as could be affixed to walls; and altar-tombs insulated or standing alone were seldom erected in churches; from the same period we may date the prevalence of that custom which has since universally been followed, of erecting in our churchyards upright gravestones, and altar-tombs, with inscriptions.

The variety of monuments during this century, though great, may be included generally in one or other of the following classes:—

First, Altar tombs or sarcophagi with effigies, beneath semicircular arcades, above which are horizontal entablatures, supported at the angles by columns, generally of the Corinthian order; obelisks, escutcheons, and scroll-work, finish the design; the soffits of the arches are pannelled, and each spandril contains foliage, or a small figure sculptured in relief; the inscription is placed at the back of the recessed arcade, if erected close to a wall, and on a square or oblong pannel or tablet within, as it were, a frame of scroll-work. These tombs were constructed much after the fashion of the large tombs of the reign of Elizabeth, but were not so meretricious, and during the

Rusticus" published in 1665.—The journal of William Dowsing, appointed a parliamentary commissioner for demolishing the superstitious pictures and ornaments of churches within the county of Suffolk, in the year 1643 and 1644, is full of accounts of fanatical acts of violence committed in as many as 150 churches and chapels within that county. The following are extracts:—

"40. Mary's at the Tower, Jan. the 29th, we took up 6 Brass Inscriptions, with *ora pro nobis*, and *ora pro animabus*, and *cujus animæ propitiatur Deus*; and *pray for the soul*, in English; and I gave orders to take down 5 iron crosses and one of wood on the Steeple."

"46. Playford, Jan. the 30th, we brake down 17 Popish Pictures, one of God the Father; and took up 2 superstitious Inscriptions in Brass, and one *ora pro nobis*, and *cujus animæ propitiatur Deus*, and a 2nd *pray for the soul*."

early part of this century were common; though after the reign of James the First this fashion fell into disuse. The monument in Croydon Church, Surrey, of Archbishop Whitgift, who died in 1604, and those in St. Peter's Church, Droitwich, of Ralph Sheldon, who died in 1613, and of George Wylde, serjeant at law, who died in 1616, may be adduced as exemplars. There are also some monuments with semicircular canopied arcades, highly enriched, which differ from the last, not having any entablatures above; of this kind is the monument in Spetchley Church, Worcestershire, of Rowland Berkeley, Esq. who died in 1611, and the monument in the church of Stratford-upon-Avon, of George Carew, Earl of Totness, who died in 1629.

Secondly, Tombs or sarcophagi, beneath square, heavy, flat pedimental canopies or entablatures, supported at the angles and sides by columns of the Corinthian order, and finished at the top with scroll-work inclosing escutcheons, and obelisks; these ponderous structures first appear in the latter part of the sixteenth century, but became more common in the early part of this: the monument in Borley Church, Essex, of Sir Edward Waldegrave, and monuments in the churches of Tarbick, Coughton, Ipsley, and Packington, in the county of Warwick, and of Fladbury, Pershore, and Wickhamford, in the county of Worcester, are of this description.

Thirdly, Altar-tombs with effigies, recumbent or reclining on the side, and these include as well those that are beneath, as those that have no canopies over them: the sides are variously ornamented; some are plainly pannelled in squares or parallelograms, with inscriptions, on others are escutcheons, full of quarterings, with scroll-work around them; and along the sides of many are small effigies of

children kneeling on cushions, the males in succession on the one side, and the females opposite to them on the other.

Fourthly, Upright monuments, raised against or affixed to walls, and containing small-sized full-length effigies, kneeling before faldstools or desks, or reclining on the side. Of these monuments there are two kinds, the one consisting of such as are raised from the ground upon a basement, and these have commonly two or more recessed divisions, one above the other, with a flat entablature over each; in the uppermost the principal figures are represented either reclining on the side, with the head raised and supported by the arm, or kneeling at a desk or faldstool; in the lower compartment are figures of children, much smaller than the effigies above, kneeling in succession, either all the same way, or the males on the one side and the females opposite to them on the other, with a desk or faldstool between them. In Newbold Church, Warwickshire, and Cropthorne Church, Worcestershire, are monuments of this description, of the dates of 1636 and 1646.

The other kind consists of such as are affixed to the wall at some height from the pavement, with which they are entirely disconnected. On these, beneath a flat canopy or entablature, supported on each side by columns or pilasters, the husband and his sons appear on the one side, and opposite, the wife and her daughters, kneeling on cushions, in succession, with their hands joined and uplifted in prayer: between the husband and wife a faldstool or double desk is fixed, and their effigies are much larger than those of the children, which also vary in size. Sometimes the principal figures only, occupy one compartment, and the children are represented kneeling within another, beneath them. These monuments are generally finished above the entablature with

escutcheons and scroll-work, and sometimes also with obelisks. The monument of Thomas Lawrente, in Chelsea Church, Middlesex, as also monuments in the churches of Shuttenton and Churchover,^h in the county of Warwick, are of this description.



Brass effigy of Ann Sewell, in St. Michael's Church, Coventry.
A. D. 1609.

Fifthly, Monumental brasses. These are not so numerous as in either of the three preceding centuries; and from the period of the Restoration, inlaid brass effigies seem to have been altogether discarded, although brass tablets or plates, which contained only funeral inscriptions, still continued to be used. These inlaid portraitures, with their accessories, do not by any means exhibit that richness observable in like memorials of more ancient date, and are frequently affixed to walls: they also often represent the

^h Represented by the vignette at the head of the chapter.

effigy in a fore-shortened or indirect point of view, kneeling before a desk. The brass plate affixed to the south wall of the chancel of St. Michael's Church, Coventry, containing the portraiture of Ann Sewell, who died in 1609, is of this description, and represents her in a fore-shortened attitude, as in the annexed vignette, kneeling at a faldstool, on which appears an open book. In St. Sepulchre's Church, Northampton, is a slab with full-length effigies of brass inlaid, of the date of 1640. They represent a man standing between two women, with each of his hands entwined in one of theirs; beneath the woman on his right are the effigies of three children, two males and a female, and beneath the woman on his left are the effigies of nine children, four males and five females. This monumental slab, a late one of the kind, is commemorative of George Coles and his two wives, Eleanor and Sarah, with their children; and they appear clad in the ordinary costume of the middle classes, as worn in the reign of Charles the First.

There are some brass portraitures of this century, which represent the deceased in his shroud or winding sheet, partially open, so as to disclose the bust and feet of the figure. brasses of this kind occur in Sauston Church, Cambridgeshire, and in the chapel of Wigston's Hospital, at Leicester.

Sixthly, Monuments with bustos. Besides full-length effigies, it was customary, from near the commencement to the close of this century, to place merely the bustos of deceased persons, sculptured in stone or marble, within or on monuments affixed to walls. These monuments varied in design, according as more correct principles of taste in art were diffused; in some, the busto was placed within a recessed arcade beneath an entablature supported by pillars; in others of later date the bustos appear beneath triangular pediments, supported likewise by pillars, whilst as the

century draws to a close, bustos are represented placed on a pedestal, and finishing the monumental design. The early bustos were sculptured nearly to the hips, and the hands and arms were introduced; they were also painted to resemble life, and in general nothing more than the mere formal outline of the dress was followed, but afterwards, when little more than the head and shoulders appear, the progress of sculpture is evinced in the attitude and markings of character and expression, as also in the artificial arrangement of the drapery with which the bust was enveloped, and it was left untouched by the brush. Many busts of the middle of this century bear a striking resemblance in appearance to the portrait of Charles the First, possessing the chief characteristics of his countenance, long flowing hair, curled-up mustachios, and the pointed beard. These monuments individually vary, yet there is a peculiarity of style and general accessories more or less belonging to each; naked or half-draped winged figures, bearing trumpets or torches; skulls repeated in different parts of the design; curtains drawn aside, triangular pediments divided in the midst, the intermediate space being occupied by an escutcheon, trusses, or brackets, and other architectural features were, some or all, brought into requisition.

Of these monuments, one of the earliest is that of Shakespeare, at Stratford-upon-Avon. The poet died in 1616, and his bust, which is but poorly executed, represents him in the attitude of inspiration, with a pen in his right hand, and a scroll in his left, and is placed within a coved recess, beneath an horizontal entablature, supported by Corinthian columns of black marble, with gilded bases and capitals; above the entablature, on the face of a kind of blocking course, are his armorial bearings, helme and crest, with mantlings; on each side of this is the naked figure of

a child sitting with an inverted torch; the monument is finished with a death's head. The bust, which is sculptured to the waist, was originally painted to resemble life; and beneath, between the pedestals of the columns, is the inscription. A monument very similar in general appearance, though larger, and containing two bustos, is affixed to the same wall as that of Shakespeare's, and this perpetuates the memory of Richard and Judith Combe, the latter of whom died in 1649.

In Chesterton Church, Warwickshire, are two large upright monuments, with entablatures and triangular pediments, divided in the midst with escutcheons intervening, and supported by pillars; within each are two bustos, placed on pedestals: these monuments are of the respective dates of 1636 and 1643.

The monument in Shuckburgh Church, Warwickshire, of Sir Richard Shuckburgh, an adherent of Charles the First, who died in 1656, is a good specimen of the style of monumental composition prevalent about the middle of this century; the bust much resembles that of Charles the First, being represented with long flowing hair, curled-up mustachios, and a pointed beard, and appears in armour, with pauldrons scalloped at the edges, a falling collar about the neck, and a sash across the breast, tied in a knot over the left shoulder: winged boys, with drapery about their loins, are represented as drawing aside with the one hand a curtain, so as to disclose the bust, whilst in the other they are holding a trumpet to their lips. Pediments, escutcheons, cherubs' heads, deaths' heads, foliage, and drapery, constitute the design, which, together with the bust, is well executed, and displays considerable merit.

The monument in St. Martin's Church, Leicester, of John Whatton, an Esquire of the body to Charles the First,

who died in 1656, and of which the annexed vignette is a representation, is in the same style of composition, though the constituent details are differently arranged; and it exhibits medallion busts of himself and his two wives.



Monument in St. Martin's Church, Leicester, of John Whatton.
A. D. 1656.

Seventhly, Monumental statues. The practice of representing full-length effigies in formal positions, recumbent, kneeling, or reclining, did not altogether cease till near the close of the century; though soon after the Restoration the precise formalities of attitude hitherto observed were broken through, and the monumental statue or effigy displayed reclining in a less constrained position, and with the drapery more freely disposed; and sometimes even erect; although

the latter attitude was not common till after the commencement of the eighteenth century.

The designs of these monuments exceedingly varied; for though a general principle of style with regard to composition may be found to pervade the whole, yet invention in grouping, and arrangement of detail, were now, more than at any former period, dependent on the fancy and taste of the sculptor by whom such were executed, and rendered the works of this class so dissimilar, that there are not two but what differ essentially; the same ideas are, indeed, repeated, but in new combinations of form.

The beautiful monument in Croydon Church, Surrey, of Archbishop Sheldon, who died in 1677, exhibits his statue gracefully reclining, with the left arm resting on a cushion, and supporting the head, on which the mitre appears; the pastoral staff is held in the right hand, and the drapery of the robes is well adjusted. The altar-tomb on which the effigy reposes is of black marble, pannelled with white, and is finely sculptured with skulls and bones mixed in confusion. The elevation of the monument of black and white marble is of no regular composition; over the effigy, and beneath a semicircular pediment, the entablature of which is supported by square projecting pilasters, is an inscriptive tablet in the shape of an oval heraldic escutcheon, within a frame of scroll-work; resting on this pediment are represented two winged figures, without drapery, supporting the archbishop's escutcheon, with his mitre; and above this, the design consists of an angular pediment, divided in the midst, the intermediate space being occupied by a flaming urn: the back of the monument is of black marble, and displays the white marble sculpture, the execution of which is most admirable, in bold and violent contrast.

In Westminster Abbey, on the monument of Thomas

Thynn, Esquire—who, as the inscription thereon imports, was murdered in 1682—is his effigy, in a languid, reclining posture, enveloped in drapery, the head, neck, part of the breast, and left arm only, being exposed, and at his feet is the half-draped figure of a boy. The story of his assassination is sculptured in relief on the pedestal, and the back of the design is finished with a semicircular pediment, partly concealed by drapery, with an urn at the top.

The same abbey church contains the monument of Dr. Busby, Head Master of Westminster School, who died in 1695; he appears reclining, with a pen in his right hand, and a book in his left, in his clerical robes, with a cap on his head, and bands; on the base or pedestal are sculptured books and scrolls, and the back of the monument is surmounted with a semicircular pediment, over which are displayed his arms.

The effigy of Thomas, Earl of Coventry, who died in 1692, appears on his monument in Elmley Castle Church, Worcestershire, in a reclining attitude, resting on his arm, and arrayed in his parliamentary robes, which are loosely adjusted; and by his side a coronet appears. The design consists of a plain altar-tomb, on which the effigy is placed, under a coved canopy, supported by pillars; this is surmounted by an escutcheon, containing various quarterings, with supporters, coronet, helmet, and crest. On each side, above the entablature, an angel is represented, sitting, and holding a trumpet; and below, at each end of the altar-tomb, is an angel, standing erect.

The monument in York Cathedral of Archbishop Lamplough, who died in 1691, exhibits his statue in an erect position, in his proper robes, standing beneath a canopy. In the same cathedral church, the monument of William Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, who died in 1695, displays

the full-length effigies, in upright attitudes, of himself, in his parliamentary robes, and his lady, who appears in *déshabille*.

These are amongst the earliest instances of monumental statues, the size of life, represented standing.

Eighthly, Mural monumental tablets. Although early in this century some few monumental tablets were affixed to walls, it was not until after the Restoration that they became at all common. In most of these a great similarity of design is apparent: an oblong pannel, bordered with mouldings, plainly worked, contains the inscription, and is surmounted by a semicircular or triangular pediment, often divided in the midst, where an emblazoned escutcheon is placed; an escutcheon is sometimes fixed at the base of the monument also, the quarterings or simple bearings being painted on the marble; columns or pilasters often appear at the sides of the tablet, supporting the pediment, and the whole is strengthened by carved trusses, placed underneath to sustain it. The tablet in Shustoke Church, Warwickshire, commemorative of Sir William Dugdale, Knight, Garter King at Arms, the famous historian and antiquary, who died in 1685, is of this description; and such of this period are common. A monumental tablet, in the form of the oval-shaped bulging escutcheon, so often met with as an accessory on large monuments, and surrounded with a species of scroll-work ornament, intermixed with drapery, was also about the same period of no unusual design; and flat monumental stones or slabs, with inscriptions graven or cut thereon, and forming part of the pavement of the chancel and aisles, are of frequent occurrence during this century, especially towards the close; but these, with the exception of an escutcheon sometimes carved at the head of the stone, are entirely plain.

Ninthly, Altar-tombs and head-stones in churchyards. The last class of monuments to be noticed is that which comprises altar-tombs and head-stones in churchyards. A few of these may have appeared early in the century; but it was not until the last thirty years of it that the custom began to spread; and we do not often find gravestones or altar-tombs in churchyards of an earlier date than 1670. The early upright gravestones were far from being so plain as the generality now erected, but were ornamented in the style of the period; and the top was often sculptured to resemble a pediment, supported by pilasters. The altar-tombs were also constructed more in an architectural style than those of the present day; but, from long exposure to the weather, these old tombs and gravestones have suffered severely, and the inscriptions on most of them, from the same cause, are nearly obliterated.

We occasionally meet in our churchyards with monuments of so early a date as the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, but these are by no means common. Some of them appear to have been originally placed in the church; and the era of their erection may be ascertained by the architectural style in which they are constructed.

The sepulchral effigies of this century are represented either in armour, or in the state or canonical robes, or in the ordinary costume of the party, according to his or her degree, rank, and station in life.

Defensive armour during the reign of James the First consisted of a gorget, a breast-plate, with a narrow skirt or tace at the bottom, a back-plate, pauldrons marked in imitation of several plates, which covered the shoulders, upper part of the arms, and part of the breast; elbow pieces, and vambraces; to the tace of the breast plate, tassets, sometimes composed each of one piece only, though scored

to resemble overlapping plates, were attached, and these depended in front of the thighs over the trunk hose or breeches; under the tassets cuisses or thigh-pieces were sometimes worn; genouilleres or knee-caps, jambs and sollerets, completed the suit. Defensive armour from the knee downwards does not, however, appear to have been used after the reign of James the First; but late in that, or in the early part of the reign of Charles the First, jambs and sollerets, in which the legs and feet were incased, were superseded by immense gambado boots; they continued, however, to be represented on monumental effigies for many years after they had ceased to be actually worn. The armour was not of so ornamental a description as that which appeared in the reign of Elizabeth, though it was covered with a number of studs; the hair and beard were distinguished by their length, till the termination of the civil wars or Restoration, after which the beard was shaved close, and round the neck was a quilled ruff, not upraised, but falling down over the back, shoulders, and in front. In the reign of Charles the First, the ruff was superseded by the plain turned-down and vandyke-edged collars. Judges and Bishops, however, continued to wear the ruff for some time after its general disuse. A specimen of the armour of the early part of this century appears on the effigy in Upper Shuckburgh Church, Warwickshire, of John Shuckburgh, Esquire, who died in 1631. He is represented bare-headed, with mustachios and a beard, and a ruff with nebule folds is poked out horizontally around his neck; his armour consists of a cuirass, with pauldrons and elbow plates, cuissets, genouilleres, jambs, and sollerets; but there is no indication of either casque, gauntlet, or any offensive weapon, and the effigy is sculptured in a rude and formal manner.

The apparent superiority of fire-arms over other military weapons, and the impossibility of procuring armour proof against their discharges, occasioned many parts of the heavy defensive armour of the former century to be laid aside; and in the civil wars, the body armour rarely consisted of more than a casque or head-piece, gorget, pauldrons, vambraces, breast and back-plates, and tassets or cuisses;¹ and even many of these were often supplanted by a military costume of a less cumbrous and more commodious description.

The latest period which can, perhaps, be adduced when whole-length effigies appear in armour after the English fashion, was the latter part of the reign of James the Second. This is exemplified by a remarkable monument in the chancel of Swinbrook Church, Oxfordshire, set up in 1686, wherein are three recessed compartments, one above the other, each of which contains an effigy in armour reposing on a mat, and leaning on the right arm, with the left knee raised, and the left arm resting upon it; the attitude, if not graceful, is free, and the armour, which on each of these figures is the same, consists of a plain heavy breast and back-plate or cuirass, with a narrow skirt at the bottom, below which a belt is strapped, and a sash, which in the middle of this century was often worn diagonally across from the shoulder to the hip, appears worn horizontally about the loins; the thighs are covered in front by cuissnets reaching to the knees, and ribbed across; genouilleres,

¹ Markham, in "The Souldiers Accidence," published in 1645, mentions the cuirassiers, the meanest of whom was by his place a gentleman, to have been thus armed:—"They have for their defensive armes gorgets, curats, (the plate coat, or cuirass properly so called, consisting of a breast and back plate) cutases, which some call culets, others the garde de reine, because it armeth the hinder parts from the waste to the saddle crotch, then pauldrons, vambraces, a left-hand gauntlet, taces, cuisses, a caske, (casque or head-piece), a sword, girdle, and hangers."—Grose's Mil. Ant. vol ii. p. 110.

jambes, and sollerets, defend the knees, legs, and feet; the shoulders are protected by thick convex, angular-shaped, pauldrons, ribbed in perpendicular divisions, and the arms by elbow pieces and vambraces, the latter ribbed at the cuffs; gauntlets and casques also appear on the monument, in connection with each figure, though neither are worn; the whole of this armour, with the exception of the ribbed divisions, is plain and unornamented; on the head of the lowermost effigy long flowing locks, mustachios, and a beard, appear, and a plain turn-down collar on the neck; on the two uppermost, the hair is long and curly, and the beard is shaved close, and instead of the falling collar, the cravat or neckcloth, a characteristic of the reigns of Charles the Second and James the Second, in the former of which it was introduced, is tied loosely round the neck, with the ends hanging pendant in front.

The effigies thus described are those of John Fettiplace, Esq. who died in 1657; Sir John Fettiplace, Bart. who died in 1672; and Sir Edmund Fettiplace, Bart. who erected this monument in memory of his uncle, his father, and himself, in 1686. The effigy thereon of Sir John Fettiplace is represented by the annexed vignette.



Monumental Effigy in Swinbrook Church, Oxfordshire, of Sir John Fettiplace.
A. D. 1672.

This monument is strangely contrasted with one close by it, commemorative also of the Fettiplace family, and

erected about a century earlier, and, like this, containing three reclining effigies in armour in recessed compartments, one above another; the plan of the more ancient one has evidently been followed in the general form and disposition of the other, but that of the Elizabethan era is distinguished by a meretricious display of ornamental detail, from which the latter, though exhibiting in its composition the same order of classic architecture, is free, and comparatively chaste.

Male effigies, especially those numerous small ones on tombs which represent the younger branches of families, appear during the reigns of James the First and Charles the First, with thick flowing hair, and sometimes with curled-up mustachios and beards, attired in long-waisted doublets buttoned down and coming to a peak in front, with sleeves turned back at the wrists, and trunk hose or breeches, with boots or high-heeled shoes; they have also plain falling collars, and cloaks reaching to the mid-thighs, with short capes hanging behind.

The brass effigy of George Coles, of Northampton, who died in 1640, affords a specimen of the ordinary dress of persons in the middle ranks of life in the reign of Charles the First. He appears bare-headed, with a long beard, a falling collar about his neck, and a short-skirted doublet, buttoned in front down to the skirt; below these are trunk hose, breeches, and stockings gartered at the knees; on his feet are high-heeled square-toed shoes; and over his back is worn a cloak, open in front, which reaches nearly to the knees.

The curious monumental effigy in Gloucester Cathedral of Alderman Blackleach, of the date of 1639, is an interesting specimen of the elegant half-military costume worn in the reign of Charles the First, and which is become

familiar to us from the portraits of that era by Vandyke. He is represented with long flowing hair, mustachios, and a peaked beard; round his neck appears the falling ruff, a late instance, and he wears a slashed doublet, with large loose sleeves, also slashed, and wristbands, fringed or ruffled. Large wide boots, reaching nearly to the knees, are worn over the long loose breeches or trowsers; and at his back a long cloak appears: a basket-hilted rapier or sword is affixed to the left side, suspended from a belt worn over the right shoulder; and the doublet is encircled about the hips by a large broad scarf. This effigy, which is sculptured in a more than common degree of excellence, is conceived to have been the work of Fanelli.



Monumental Effigy in Gloucester Cathedral of Alderman Blackleach.
A. D. 1639.

Some effigies, especially those of members of corporate bodies, are represented with falling collars, in long gowns,

edged down the front with fur; and no other part of the dress is visible, except the sleeves of the doublet. The effigy on the monument of John Combe, who died in 1614, is thus arrayed.

After the reign of Charles the First, whole-length effigies of citizens, and persons in the middle ranks of life, were seldom or never sculptured; such being confined to persons of eminence, and those who moved in the upper circles of society.

In the reign of Charles the Second, the cloak fell into disuse as an ordinary article of dress, and the long-skirted coat, the prototype of the present habiliment in our costume, was introduced.

Up to the period of the Commonwealth, cumbent effigies of noblemen appear in armour, with their mantle of estate, and sometimes a coronet, by the form of which their rank can be ascertained. After the Restoration, peers were represented habited in their ordinary costume, with their robes of estate, and a coronet by their side.

The effigy in the chapel of Bradgate House, Leicestershire, of Henry Grey, Baron of Grooby, who died in 1614, represents him as equipped in a complete suit of plate armour, over which is worn a rich mantle of estate, with a furred cape or tippet, fastened by a clasp in front across the breast, below which it falls open, to expose the armour.

The upright monumental effigy in York Cathedral of Thomas Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, Knight of the Order of the Garter, who died in 1695, represents him attired in his state robes, with the insignia pertaining to that order. He appears in a vest or surcoat of estate, with full sleeves, and ruffles at the wrists; tight pantaloons, with the Garter round his left leg, and high-heeled shoes; a mantle and tippet of estate, with the collar of his order round the latter;

about his neck is tied a cravat or neckcloth, which succeeded to the falling band, and was introduced in the latter part of the reign of Charles the Second: and he wears on his head a long flowing wig, which in the same reign came also into fashion. His coronet is placed on a cushion, at his feet.

Judges are represented in their judicial robes. These consisted of a black, violet, or scarlet-coloured gown, with a tippet, casting hood, and mantle, and these were faced with taffeta, or white furs of minever; on the head was a lawn coif, and over that a velvet cap; the ruff continued to be worn by the judges after it was generally discarded by others; and the Lord Chief Justices of the King's Bench and Common Pleas, and the Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, were dignified by wearing the collar of SS. In 1635 a rule was made, subscribed by the judges, appointing what robes they should thenceforth use, and their colours and facings, with reference to the times and occasions on which they were worn.^k

An instance where a judge thus robed is sculptured, occurs in the recumbent effigy in Spetchley Church, Worcestershire, of Robert Berkeley, one of the Justices of the King's Bench, who died in 1656. He is habited in a long gown, with large and wide-cuffed sleeves; over this is a tippet, the borders of which are edged with furs; above that a mantle and hood, the latter hanging down behind; and round his neck appears a ruff; on his neck is a coif of lawn, fitting close, and over that is a cap of velvet of the same shape.

From this period, with the exception of a wig, worn in lieu of the coif, to the top of which, indeed, the coif appears attached, and bands instead of the ruff, the judicial robes

^k This rule is published at length in Dugdale's *Origines Juridicales*, p. 101.

have undergone little alteration, though the judge only wears the black velvet cap, on pronouncing sentence of death.

Serjeants at Law were habited in long close gowns, and hoods, violet, scarlet, or parti-coloured; but the principal insignia of a serjeant's habit was the lawn coif, with which, together with the hood, he was formally invested at his creation by the Lord Chief Justice of the King's Bench, who first put the coif upon his head, and then the hood upon his right side, and over his right shoulder.

An exemplar of this habit appears in the effigy in St. Peter's Church, Droitwich, of Serjeant Wylde, who died in 1616.

Effigies, both of judges and serjeants at law, are generally sculptured with a scroll in one hand; others, of inferior rank in the legal profession, are habited in long gowns, without either tippet, hood, or coif.

Bishops were sculptured in their canonical robes, which, with the exception of bands with broad lappets, worn in lieu of ruffs, (a practice which has ever since continued) were much the same at the close as at the commencement of the seventeenth century, and consisted of a long white rochet, or sleeveless gown, over which was the chimere, a garment or upper robe of black satin, open in front, with white lawn sleeves, made very full, sewed to it; and the facings of the chimere, in the early part of the century, were turned back a little in front, somewhat like the facings of a coat.

The monumental effigies in Croydon Church, Surrey, of Archbishops Whitgift and Sheldon, the former of whom died in 1604, the latter in 1677, exhibit the episcopal costume as worn at those different periods. The former is represented in a recumbent and devotional attitude, with

short hair, a coif on his head, a ruff round his neck, and a rochet and chimere on the body. The latter appears with long hair, a mitre on his head, bands below the chin, the rochet fitting close to the body, and the chimere, with large lawn sleeves attached, worn above it.

Loose gowns, with hoods hanging down behind, and sometimes a black scarf worn over the shoulders, and coming down in front, constitute the canonical dress of dignitaries of inferior degree in the church, and in such are their effigies often represented.

The female costume in the reign of James the First consisted of a long gown with sleeves gathered full at the shoulders, but fitting rather tight to the arms, over this was a close bodice or stomacher that terminated in a peak in front below the waist; round the neck was worn a plaited ruff falling on all sides, and the wrists were either encircled in laced ruffles, or the sleeves of the gown turned back in wristbands; over the gown a loose robe without sleeves, and open in front, sometimes appears; the hair was turned back at the forehead, and rounded in a knot on the top of the crown, and it was sometimes curled or braided; on the head a close-fitting cap, under a hood, veil, or tippet, hanging down behind, was often worn.

The stomacher was in fashion throughout the reign of Charles the First, and afterwards, but the ruff in that reign gave place to the plain falling collar, or vandyke-edged handkerchief, or laced collar, and the sleeves and train of the gown were made much fuller than before; high-heeled square-toed shoes were now in fashion, and mantles or cloaks were also occasionally worn. Amongst the middle classes, females continued to wear the stiff horizontal ruff and broad brimmed hat to the close of the reign of Charles the First. In the latter part of this century the hair was

dressed in long flowing curls, the collar was discarded, and the neck and breast left exposed, a low-bodied gown with short hanging sleeves reaching only to the elbows and leaving the arms bare, was then worn. To the voluptuous court of Charles the Second this change of fashion may be ascribed.

The brass portraiture in St. Michael's Church, Coventry, of Ann Sewell, who died in 1609, and of which a vignette is given in page 254, represents her attired in a broad brimmed hat, close cap, plaited ruff sticking out horizontally about her neck, and a bodiced gown or stomacher, with a full train and tight-fitting sleeves gathered up rather full at the shoulders.



Monumental Effigy in Shuckburgh Church, Warwickshire, of Margerie Shuckburgh. A. D. 1629.

The effigy in Shuckburgh Church, Warwickshire, of Margerie, wife of John Shuckburgh, who died in 1629, appears in a close-fitting cap, a plaited ruff falling about

the shoulders, a plain bodiced gown with sleeves cuffed at the wrists, and a loose robe without sleeves, open in front, and reaching to the feet.

In Gloucester Cathedral, the effigy of the lady of Alderman Blackleach, of the date of 1639, exhibits the vandyke-edged collar, and the bodice gown with full skirts and sleeves; and the monument in York Cathedral, of William Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, exhibits the statue of his lady with long curls, the neck and bosom bare, and in a low bodiced gown with hanging sleeves reaching only to the elbows.



Effigy in Gloucester Cathedral of the Lady of Alderman Blackleach.
A. D. 1639.

In Carew Church, Pembrokeshire, the sculptured effigy of the lady of Sir John Carew, of the date of 1637, represents her attired in a scull-cap, over which is worn a kind

of bonnet with a very wide brim ; about her neck is a falling ruff, over and beneath which vandyked worked collars appear, a curious instance, indicating the gradual change of fashion from the ruff to the rich worked collar, both of which are in this case worn ; a high-bodied gown, the train of which is full, and is tied across down the front with points, is fastened loosely about the waist with a sash ; the sleeves are ample, and finish with vandyke-edged ruffles turned back at the wrists ; over the body of the gown a kind of spencer or bodice with a narrow skirt is worn ; and a short mantle or robe with loose hanging demi-sleeves complete the dress, with the exception of the high-heeled shoes which appear on the feet.

The epitaphs of this era were often very long and complimentary ; they describe the services of the deceased, if engaged in any public capacity, and dilate upon their private virtues ; they contain likewise the marriages of the parties, the names of their children, and into what families they intermarried ; forming, in many cases, a complete genealogical table of descent for two or three generations.

These epitaphs were written either in English or Latin, and to an inscription in prose, a poetical effusion in Latin or English was often subjoined ; this was sometimes long, but in many instances consisted only of a few lines, either monitory to the reader, or tributary to the merits of the deceased.

Anagrams, or short sentences, made by transposing the letters of a person's name, were also occasionally introduced ; and such appear on monumental slabs in St. Mary's Church, Warwick, and in Meriden Church, in the same county, as in the following instances :—

ANAGRAMMA.

MISTRES CISSELEY PUCKERING,
I SLEEP SECURE, CHRIST'S MY KING.

ANAGR. { ELIZABETH ROTTON,
 { I TO A BLEST THRONE.

The inscriptions in Latin and English verse on the monument and tombstone of Shakespeare are well known. The following occurs on a flat stone in Oxhill Church, Warwickshire, and is adduced in elucidation of the foregoing remarks:—

HIC JACET CORPVS DE DANIELE BLAC-
FORD, FILIVS DE JOHANNES BLACFORD,
QVI MORTEM OBIIT OCTOBRIS VICESSI-
MO QVINTO AN. DOM. 1681. ÆTATIS
SVÆ 59.

WHEN I WAS YOUNG, I VENTERED LIFE
AND BLOOD,
BOTH FOR MY KINGE, AND FOR MY
COUNTRY'S GOOD.
IN ELDER YEARS, MY CARE WAS CHEIF
TO BE
SOVLDIR FOR HIM, THAT SHED HIS
BLOOD FOR ME.

An exception to the general style of lengthy and pompous epitaphs is instanced in that on the tomb in St. Mary's Church, Warwick, of Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, who died in 1628, and was esteemed as one of the literary ornaments of his age; the epitaph, penned by himself, conveys a far nobler and more comprehensive idea of his character than a detailed or fulsome panegyric:—

FVLKE GREVIL—SERVANT TO QVEENE ELIZABETH—
COUNCELLER TO KING—IAMES AND FREND TO ST. PHILIP
SYDNEY—

TROPHÆVM PECCATI.

The custom of breaking epitaphs, as now pursued, into lines of unequal length, some containing one or two words only, commenced about the middle of this century; before then, and also frequently afterwards, the inscription was carried on in lines of equal length throughout.

Of the statuary of the seventeenth century, Nicholas Stone, master mason to Charles the First, was much employed, during that and the previous reign, in designing and executing monuments; the prices he received were high, and he died in 1647, leaving behind him numerous productions. Of foreigners, Herbert Le Soeur, a native of France, who had studied under Giovanni De Bologna, the most celebrated of the pupils of Buonaroti; Francesco Fanelli, a Florentine; and Bernini; were, as sculptors, patronized by the court of Charles the First; and though we have no certain account of their monumental designs, as in the case of Stone, they appear to have imparted into sculptured works generally a character more consonant with the ideal principles of art, combining simplicity with expression, and to have been the unconscious founders of the modern school of English sculpture.

To the collection of antique marbles acquired by Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel, who died in 1646, and which were the first introduced into this country, and to the formation of the royal collection by Charles the First, which was, however, dispersed at his death, may in some degree be attributed that taste for the antique, which from about the middle of the seventeenth century began to be evinced, to the encouragement of the above-mentioned artists: to the same cause may, perhaps, be ascribed, towards the close of this century, the abandonment of those architectural elevations, which, independent of sculptured art,

had previously given so decided a character to monumental designs.

Invention, expression, a perception of the ideal, and a facility of grouping in composition, were the requisites now aimed at, rather than a mere adaptation of architectural detail.

To the monuments of the seventeenth century, an era equally remarkable as the sixteenth, not only for the destruction of church ornament and sculpture, but also for the general change of style, and in which the custom altogether ceased of representing effigies recumbent on tombs, clad in armour, or otherwise attired, succeeded in the eighteenth, monuments consisting of tablets, urns and pyramidal compositions, bas-reliefs, mythological conceits, and groups in statuary allegorically designed, with figures clad in draperies artfully disposed.

Rysbrack, Roubiliac, Wilton, Bacon, Banks, Nollekens, and Flaxman, were the chief sculptors of the eighteenth century who graced the English school. Their conceptions, as pertaining to modern art, must, however, be judged of by different rules than those applicable to the sculptured monuments of the middle ages.

To attempt a critical disquisition on the merits and faults of such works, a knowledge of the antique, a mind deeply susceptible of the ideal in the higher ranks of art, and a correct notion of the true principles on which it depends, are required.

Not so in treating of the more ancient monuments of our ancestors, which, devoid of expression, sentiment, and feeling, and therefore, as sculptured relics of art, not to be compared with modern works, display richness of ornament to profusion, and just proportions in the combination of detail.

The calm, suppliant, and passive attitudes of the ancient recumbent effigies, afford a strong contrast to the sculptured monuments of modern date, in the figures composing which, whether in repose or action, both the workings of the mind and body are fully and energetically developed.

Yet with all the sentiment, beauty, and feeling which ennoble the later productions of sculptured monumental art, the earlier sepulchral remains, as intimately identified with our national customs, history, and the ancient religious formularies and rites of our country, are deserving of no ordinary attention; warriors in harness, ecclesiastics in their vestments, civilians in the robes pertaining to their several offices, and females in their ordinary costume, according to the change of fashion in each succeeding age, are represented as absorbed in religious meditation and prayer. This was not all;—we behold on their tombs the influence of a power which, in imagination at least, reached beyond the grave. The inscriptions of '*Orate pro anima,*' &c. proceeded from the belief that prayers were of service to the dead; and that every devout Catholic who passed by might be induced to say a '*Pater noster,*' or an '*Ave.*' On a like principle, chantries were founded, and bequests made for the purchase of posthumous masses; and to the same cause we owe the erection of the most splendid monumental fabrics. Differing from the members of the Romish Church in this important tenet, the early Reformers relied not on the efficacy of such expedients; and this practice was, accordingly, discountenanced by them, as vain and superstitious. Yet even before the Reformation, this doctrine was not always complied with, though the exceptions were rare; and we witness an instance to the contrary on the tomb of Sir Thomas

Littleton, the celebrated Judge of the Common Pleas in the reign of Edward the Fourth, who, departing from the usual course of requesting others to pray for his soul, merely ordered this simple monition to be graven on the stone which covered his remains :

LET NO MAN SLIGHT HIS MORTALITIE.



*Tiel come tu es tiel fu,
Tu seras tiel come je su.*



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